

# National Municipal Review

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# NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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## PLATFORM ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER NOVEMBER 22, 1918

THE Rochester Conference on American Reconstruction Problems called by the National Municipal League, presents the following platform for the consideration and support of all citizens who desire to see the United States in a more advanced position at the end of the war than at its beginning:

### PLATFORM

During the war, as measures of necessary national efficiency, numerous matters formerly within private control, passed to the control of the people. Some of these things should undoubtedly be returned promptly to private enterprise; but the American people will miss a great opportunity if they allow certain of these temporary powers to slip through their fingers in the next few months.

1. During the war the long desired federal employment service has been created and the national government has assumed responsibility for connecting employers and workers in the only right and efficient way. This service should be encouraged to extend its sphere to include the education of employers in modern principles of employment.

2. Corporations, particularly those doing an interstate business have become a great source of federal revenue and may reasonably be expected to continue to be such. Federal control and supervision of their practices should be continued and extended for they create national, not merely statewide, problems. Effort should be made to free them from conflicting and ineffectual state regulations by a federal incorporation procedure.

3. The government has assumed control of railroads, telegraphs and

military forces of the United States, including adequate provision for the prevention of economic distress by reason of unemployment, the care of the sick and wounded, and the re-education of the maimed and crippled. In this no inconsiderable undertaking many questions of policy are involved. At least one step has already been taken by congress in the enactment of the Smith-Sears bill for the vocational re-education of the permanently injured. In whatever further steps are taken it is probable that congress will act for the most part by direction and not through the medium of state and local agencies. The questions involved are, however, questions of policy and not of power. Surely, if congress can create and maintain armies and navies, congress can also provide in any way that it sees fit for a sane and decent demobilization of the forces that have been called into being.

The transformation of industries from a war to a peace footing involves a far more difficult question of congressional competence. This is a serious problem even though temporary in character. Moreover, some of the policies that might be adopted in reference to it would present serious constitutional questions and might involve policies that would grow into permanency. For instance, do the war powers of congress include the power to provide during the transitional period financial assistance to those numerous industrial plants that have been lured into war work either by the hope of profits or by patriotism or by both? Perhaps the closest answer that we have to this question is the fact that more than half a century ago it was thought no less proper than legal that our governments, national, state, and local, should give financial aid to the exploitation and development of railways.

#### THE WAR FINANCE CORPORATION

We have also with us as a present war measure the War Finance Corporation, endowed with power to lend support from the national treasury to necessary industrial and utility enterprises. Disastrous were the consequences of public aid for railways during the era when that policy had unbridled and haphazard vogue throughout the country. It received, nevertheless, the stamp of judicial approval. The constitutionality of the War Finance Corporation has not been brought to test before the courts.

There are few who would not agree perhaps that the proposal that the government should lend financial assistance to aid war industries in their temporary struggle for peace readjustment has as much foundation in reason and should have as much foundation in law as the policy of government aid to railways, if not of government aid to industries and utilities in time of war. More especially would this be true if such aid were extended under strict supervision and control (elements that were practically unknown in the era of railway aid) not only to the end that loans

should be honestly and efficiently utilized but also to the end that industries should be promoted with reference to the needs of employment and to the immediate economic needs of our own country as well as of the countries with which we have been associated in the recent great enterprise.

#### A PEACE FINANCE CORPORATION

The time has passed when war can be regarded as an undertaking isolated from industry. Congress cannot raise and support an army and a navy for modern warfare unless congress also raises and supports war industries, either by direct government action or by inducement. Our war industries, although in the main under private control, are an integral part of our armed forces. Whatever their motive, it is a fact that many industries have turned to war production and thereby have become an indistinguishable part of our gigantic machinery of war. Considering the national welfare the demobilization of these industries is a duty that differs only in important degree from the duty of demobilizing the armed forces. I do not see how the courts could successfully maintain that the relocation of war industries has no relation whatever to the raising and support of an army and navy. I am well aware of the doctrine of no taxation for a private purpose and of the cases in which this doctrine has been applied by the courts to defeat projects for government aid to private industry. So far as I know, however, the doctrine has never been wielded against an act of congress. And I am inclined to believe that a Peace Finance Corporation, of a temporary character, would be sustained by the courts as a proper exercise of the war powers of congress.

#### THE QUESTION OF POWER

I am not here advocating government aid to war industries in the transition period that is upon us. I am speaking only to the question of power. Moreover, in referring to the matter at all, I have far less in mind the interests of capitalist war producers than the interests of the laborers whom they employ. Until our entire economic order is fundamentally altered the opportunity for labor must depend upon the directions of capital, wise or capricious. By and large, capitalists can far more easily survive this period of transition than can their employes. Direct national aid to these employes may seem to be more consonant with the spirit of the hour than direct aid to their capitalist employers. It is nevertheless obvious that direct aid to these employes (insuring them, for example, against unemployment during the era of transition), would involve an elaborate administrative machinery. It would not serve to direct the courses of industrial rehabilitation, and it is possible that it would obstruct rather than facilitate a return to normal conditions in industry. Needless to say that through the medium of government aid to industries the status of labor in the assisted plants could be and should

be dictated by the government itself just as it has been largely dictated during the war period. So far, however, as the question of congressional competence is concerned, direct aid to employees in these circumstances would doubtless present the same question of constitutional law as direct aid to industries.

In any policy that congress may pursue in respect to this matter it is improbable that the states or local governments will be called upon for much, if any, collaboration. These governments have little machinery that could be adapted to the purpose of effectuating such a policy. If direct aid should be extended to labor, of course the recently created federal employment service would be expanded and utilized, and it is possible that state and local services might also find opportunities for usefulness in this connection. Needless to say I am not at this point referring to the whole great question of the future policy of our governments toward the subject of unemployment.

It may easily happen that, in view of the manifest economic supremacy of this country and of the appalling world demand for the materials of rehabilitation, our industries will readjust themselves with such marvelous rapidity that there will be little need for government assistance either to capital or to labor.<sup>1</sup>

#### NATIONAL REGULATION DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD

The powers of the national government to fix the prices of certain basic commodities and to regulate consumption and distribution have not been judicially questioned as war powers. Whether these policies can be legally continued in time of peace, even during the era of demobilization is open to grave doubt. They probably could not be sustained upon the ground I have advanced in possible support of action by congress in connection with military and industrial demobilization. The fixing of prices and the control of consumption and distribution have certainly borne direct relation to the raising and support of military forces and to the actual conduct of war; but they certainly bear a very much less direct relation to demobilization as such, or indeed to any power that the national government has been regarded as possessing in time of peace. It is barely possible that the power of congress to regulate commerce might be invoked in support of price fixing. Under this power congress has regulated the rates of interstate carriers and in effect the wages of some of their employees even before government operation was put into effect as a war measure. Congress has also established standards for certain commodities that may be shipped in such commerce. From these policies, sanctioned by the courts, the regulation of the prices of interstate commerce commodities may seem a very small step; but it is certainly one that would be vigorously fought both as policy and as law. It is simply a

<sup>1</sup> Many evidences of this probability have developed since this was written. H. L. M.

fact that, however broadly the courts have asserted the power of our governments, state and national, to regulate the prices of businesses "affected with a public interest," such regulation has in practice been confined almost exclusively to the distinguishable class of business popularly known as public utilities. Whether the courts are ready to sustain a new and very much broader application of an old broadly asserted principle remains to be seen if the policy is attempted.

If congress has the power to regulate the prices of interstate commerce commodities, it may perhaps be regarded as settled that the states have the power to regulate the prices of commodities that enter into intrastate commerce. Moreover, it is probable that the exercise of such power by congress would lead to some exercise of a similar power by the states. Price-fixing is, at best a politico-economic policy of highly questionable wisdom. Whatever theoretical arguments may be advanced in its favor, it is a policy that involves enormous practical difficulties. It can be justified only in time of great emergency. Our experience even in the realm of utility rate control has surely not been sufficiently happy to warrant, as a permanent policy, a wide extension of price control by government order. It may be, however, that a temporary continuation of this policy will be desirable if legal competence for its exercise can be found.

A recent utterance of Chairman Baruch of the War Industries Board, seems to indicate that the control of that great organization will continue "for some time to come." He is quoted as saying that raw materials made available by the reduction of war requirements and the cancellation of war contracts "will be released and *allocated* by the War Industries Board for use in supplying civilian and export demands."<sup>1</sup> There is to be also only a "*gradual* lifting of the restrictions and curtailments that have been imposed upon industry by the exigency of the war."<sup>1</sup> It may be that such a policy will meet with general acquiescence by industry. But it must not be forgotten that the single minded purpose of the nation has been accomplished. Patriotism is no longer called to its highest form of expression. Industry will be restless, even rebellious, under government restraint. It may well result that the constitutional competence of the national government to "allocate" raw materials in time of peace and to lift restrictions only "gradually" will be drawn into question. Of course it is possible that the government may exercise a degree of control in this direction so long as government operation of transportation continues, although the rule of law is fairly established that even governments must in the operation of utilities furnish equal service to all who apply.

In all of this great problem, however,—important as it is—there is little, if any, question touching the subject immediately before us, the relation of the national government to state and local governments. The

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written there are many evidences that the control exercised by the War Industries Boards is rapidly disintegrating. H. L. M.

problem is wholly national, whether viewed in its constitutional, its legislative, or its administrative aspects.

Let us turn now to consider a few questions relating to possible public policies of a more permanent character.

#### GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

It is not my purpose to discuss the question of the policy of national ownership of the railways, the telephones, the telegraphs and allied utilities. This question will doubtless be fiercely fought in the immediate days ahead. In my opinion it is certain that congress is legally competent to acquire these utilities under the power to regulate interstate commerce and the power to establish post-offices and post-roads. Whether in the face of our stupendous national debt congress can see its way clear to raise the money for their acquisition and whether these utilities ought to pass over to government ownership as a matter of policy are wholly different questions. It seems fairly certain that these great arteries of the nation's economic and social life will never be handed back to private management under the system of public supervision that prevailed so short a time back. A discussion, however, of the economic, political, and legal questions involved in the future policy of the government toward these utilities is not germane to my subject. Whatever that policy may be it is manifest that the state and local governments will have little if anything to do with the matter. Under government ownership our state utility commissions will cease to function with reference to the utilities that are taken over. Even under a scheme of private ownership with government operation, or with joint government and private operation, the powers of these state agencies cannot fail to be greatly curtailed.

In respect to any proposal that may be advanced for the national ownership of the sources of industry, such as mines or waterpower sites, there would also be no question of state or local participation. Here again the competence of congress can scarcely be questioned, at least if the acquisition of forest lands by purchase may be taken as a precedent that establishes a rule of competency. Whether congress could acquire such properties by condemnation, as it probably could in the case of the railways and the other utilities mentioned, is open to some doubt. To the extent that natural resources or even industrial enterprises require development in order to insure the self-sufficiency or complete economic independence of the country, it is probable that the power of the national government is without limit. In the light of the lessons of the war, action in this regard could readily be sustained under the war powers of congress.

#### THE GOVERNMENT'S REGULATION OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

It seems almost inevitable that the so-called trust problem will be once more to the fore. Nobody is satisfied with the economic results of the Sherman Act, and the Federal Trade Commission has assuredly had

no conspicuous measure of success—nothing comparable, for example, to that of the Federal Reserve Board in another field of control. It seems possible at least that our entire policy in respect to concentration in industry may be completely reversed; it will certainly be reconsidered. What is apparently needed is not so much government war upon concentration as such, but government war upon the evils of industry whether they obtain in concentration or in competition. It is impossible to forecast how this great problem will be met. It is certainly a national problem and not one that can or ought to be shared with the states. It is not a problem of big business only, and it is to be regretted that the sole existing constitutional avenue for congressional approach is the commerce power, which has well-known limitations in this respect.

With the discontinuance of war contracts and with the absence of opportunity to appeal to patriotism or to threaten direct government operation, the chief modes by which the federal government has maintained harmonious relations between capital and labor will disappear. What, if anything, is to be substituted? Compulsory arbitration is open to serious objections in point of policy, not to mention the grave doubt that exists as to the constitutional competence of congress to enact such a policy into law, even though the law applied only to interstate carriers and to those enterprises that ship products in interstate and foreign commerce. Harmony between labor and capital centers chiefly around questions of wages, hours of labor, and related matters. But neither labor nor capital is unqualifiedly enthusiastic about having these matters settled by law or by administrative action founded upon law.

There is one kind of legislation, however, that organized labor would unreservedly endorse and that capital would for the most part oppose. I refer to legislation that looks to legal recognition of and protection for the principle of collective bargaining. That statutory support for labor unions would strengthen the principle of collective bargain is unquestionable. Whether it would or would not result in greater harmony between capital and labor is perhaps open to some debate. In 1898 Congress evidently thought that it would so result, at least in the case of interstate carriers. But in 1908 the supreme court, being probably unconvinced, declared the congressional act to this end void. In the opinion of the court the act was not within the power of congress to regulate commerce, and even if it were, it deprived the carrier and the employe of that vague thing known as freedom of contract which is guaranteed by the requirement of due process of law. So, also, a state statute directed to a similar end was invalidated by the supreme court in 1915 because it interfered with this same freedom. And more recently still it has been declared that even in the absence of statute, labor union officials may be enjoined from attempting to interfere with the *status quo* arrangements of a closed non-union enterprise.

Although there were strong minority dissents in each of these cases, it is perfectly obvious that the majority of the court that shapes the course of the law is to date opposed to the proposition that any of our units of government should lend the aid of the law to the principle of collective bargaining. So long as this judicial attitude maintains its front, it is idle to argue that either congress or the state legislatures may lend statutory assistance to labor unions except through the narrow door of government contracts. Certainly congress cannot apply generally to the industries of interstate commerce a regulation that it could not impose upon the direct carriers of such commerce. How long this judicial front can or will be held is wholly another question. For the moment, at any rate, such harmony between labor and capital as can be created by legally strengthening the position of the union is interdicted. Neither congress nor the states can act.

#### THE CHILD LABOR DECISION

The recent veto of the federal child labor law by the supreme court arrests, for the time being at least, the movement for federal control over the standards and conditions of labor in the country. The court had previously permitted congress to advance from regulating the carriers of commerce to regulating the articles that enter into commerce; but the bars have been raised against any further advance. Congress may not regulate the kind of labor that may be employed in the manufacture of such articles, and presumably therefore congress may not regulate the conditions under which such labor may be employed—maximum hours, for example, or minimum wages—or the conditions of the establishments in which they work—sanitary or safety conditions, for instance. Here, then, is an increasingly important field that is still left exclusively to the control of the states. That the child labor law was defeated because of its potential implication as to future legislation by congress rather than because of its immediate specifications is beyond question. Indeed this was very nearly avowed with frankness by the supreme court. That the decision is the last word of the court upon this subject is extremely doubtful. But for the moment it stands.

I point to these restrictions upon the powers of both national and state governments in the matter of regulating labor and capital, not with a view to emphasizing a legalistic view of the situation. The law and the power of the courts are under our system of jurisprudence facts that must be reckoned with. When I hear talk about the democratization of industry by congressional action requiring labor participation in the management of plants; or the stabilization of industry by national control of raw materials, national taxation upon plants for idle days, and a national requirement that laborers shall be employed upon a yearly contractual basis; or the establishment of industrial peace by compulsory arbitration, compulsory recognition of unions, compulsory minimum wage scales, and

compulsory maximum hours of work—when I hear talk of this kind, I cannot but wonder whether those who advance these proposals have any notion whatever of the legal difficulties that stand to be overcome.

Manifestly war conditions have taught both labor and capital many lessons of vital importance. It is not unlikely that their capacity for co-operation has been developed. It is also not unlikely that capital will accept certain innovations in the position of labor, in part because it has found them both useful and workable, in part because of their essential justice. Especially in this possible in the probable era of prosperity that is before us. But this is wholly a different thing from government action.

#### GOVERNMENT AID

I have already spoken of the possibility of national aid to industries or employes during the demobilization period. But the question of national aid presents larger aspects than this. Broadly speaking, there is nothing new about the principle of national aid, whether to individuals or to state and local governments and whether in reference to a subject matter over which congress has control or otherwise. Many promotional services in the departments of agriculture and of commerce have been established to aid private persons in their economic pursuits, although not by means of direct payments. We are familiar also with direct national aid to institutions for agricultural and military education, and with ship subsidies. More recently aid has been provided for the promotion of vocational education, for the building of roads, and for farmers, aid to the latter, however, being only in the form of loans. Congress has no express power to regulate or control agriculture, or education, or roadbuilding (except post-roads).

Large possibilities inhere in this method of bringing national pressure to bear upon certain economic problems as well as upon state and local activities. I can mention only one or two aspects of the matter.

The problem of compensation for industrial injuries is now fairly cared for by most of the states, and it is probable that the machinery of this service will be steadily improved. The principle has been accepted that the cost of industrial accidents is a cost properly known by industry itself. It is not so clear, however, that sickness, old age, and unemployment are proper burdens of industry as such. Are they not rather burdens which society as a whole should assume? And is it not appropriate that these burdens should be assumed by the national government rather than by our local units of government? We have no precedent for congressional action in such matters except the unrelated precedent of military pensions and the stupendous war risk insurance recently established. Congress certainly has no express power in the premises. But there is the general precedent of national aid to enterprises that are beyond the regulatory power of congress, and there is the fact already mentioned that

no act of congress has ever been declared void on the ground that it imposed taxes for a private purpose. Proposals for the establishment of such schemes of insurance would be fought not only on legal grounds but also with the age-worn slogan of paternalism. Yet sooner or later, they are bound to come.

Especially would insurance against unemployment, if carefully administered, be an equalizing and stabilizing force in society. In connection with this it is manifest that employment upon public works in times of economic depression is a possibility not to be ignored. Now in the matter of public works our cities are our largest spending units. Congress has no control over them. But through the medium of financial aid to these governmental units during periods of depression congress could exert a large influence upon their activities.

Again, in the matter of education, particularly in its relation to the immigrant, it is high time that the national government should exert a larger measure of influence. I am aware of the fact that the policy of subsidizing local communities or institutions for educational purposes, whether employed by the national or the state governments, has not furnished a very satisfactory means of compelling compliance with standards and conditions. But there is no inherent reason why such a policy can not be made effective. It certainly offers at the moment the only possible method by which the influence of the nation as a whole can be brought to bear upon our widely variant and in many parts of the country wholly insufficient systems of education.

#### OUR FEDERAL SYSTEM RECONSIDERED

You are perhaps wondering—and not without reason—when I shall arrive at my subject, the *new* relation of the federal government to state and local communities. I have already arrived. I do not believe that there is going to be much that is strikingly new in this relation except in the matter of co-operative spirit; and even in respect to this latter we must not ignore the large amount of co-operation that has prevailed in the past between administrative agencies of the national government and corresponding agencies in the state and local governments.

In time of war when centralization of authority and immediateness of action are of the essence, the disadvantages of a federal system of government are obvious. But war is an abnormal circumstance. I hold no brief for federalism as a principle and still less do I hold brief for the rights of the states, either legal or moral. There is much that is arbitrary in our federal system and much that is annoying. The division of powers between the nation and the states is by no means ideal. But I am not ready to see our federal arrangement sent to the institutional scrap heap; and in this, I believe, I am one of a vast majority of the American people. For, wholly apart from the threadbare shibboleth of state against national

rights, every thoughtful person must recognize that in a country as large and diversified as ours, a division of powers which leaves to the states an important sphere of autonomy has certain obvious advantages in normal times of gradual economic and political change. Perhaps the chief of these advantages is the opportunity which it offers for experimentation under the urge of a localized public opinion that does not have to wait upon the conversion of the entire nation to its hopes or its beliefs. Our states are notorious copyists. Politico-economic experiments, proved and unproved, improved and unimproved, spread rapidly from state to state. Thus do acorns of real or phantasmal reform, planted in a single state, grow into sturdy, if often asymmetrical, national oaks. I look for steady expansion of national powers; but I should regret to see this expansion accomplished by constitutional amendments transferring to exclusive national control a large number of the powers now exercised by the states.

#### NATIONAL-STATE RELATIONS

In this connection I should like to call your attention to a situation in respect to our national-state relations that is often misunderstood. In reference to legislation such as the federal child labor law we hear much talk about the national government's "invasion" of the sphere of state control, and the general impression created is that congressional action supersedes and wholly displaces state action upon the subject matter involved. Nothing is further from the facts. The positive regulations of the states remain untouched.

Suppose, for example, that the federal child labor law had been upheld. It provided fourteen years as the minimum age; and establishments engaged in the production of interstate commerce commodities could not employ a child under that age. Now suppose that the law of a particular state fixed twelve years as the minimum. Such a state law does not positively authorize the employment of children above the minimum set; it merely prohibits the employment of children under that minimum. It would be enforced as to all plants not engaged in manufacturing commodities covered by the federal law. It would simply be unnecessary to enforce it in plants that were so engaged because of the superior requirements of the national law.

Suppose, on the other hand, that the law of a particular state established a sixteen-year minimum. The federal statute would not enter such a state and authorize a lower requirement. In fact, if adequate enforcement of the state law be conceded, the federal law would be useless in such a state; for every plant that complied with the state law would of necessity more than comply with the federal law.

#### INVASION OF STATE CONTROL

It is manifest, therefore, that national regulations in such a field as this are in supplement of, not in substitute for, state regulations. They

"invade" the sphere of state control only in the sense that they may prohibit in part what the state by inaction permits. They can not and do not permit what the state by positive action prohibits. Moreover, it is simply a fact that federal action, far from negativing or interfering with action by the states, is often a stimulus to increased state activity. There is no question, for instance, that both states and cities are far more active to-day in the matter of protecting the purity of food supplies than they were prior to the federal pure food legislation of 1906. They do not often duplicate the federal government's work; but they supplement it and co-operate. Under the impulse of federal example, they are spending more and acting more, even in what is for practical, though not for legal reasons, a more circumscribed field of operations. If it be true that no state or city can prohibit the sale of comestibles that the federal government does not shut out from interstate and foreign commerce (under the doctrine that the right to import carries with it the right to sell), it is also true that the state or city was powerless to prohibit such sale prior to the federal legislation. The national government did not, therefore, trench upon the powers of the states in this matter; rather did it occupy a field which the states did not and, under the ban of the courts, could not occupy.

In studying the relation of our national government to our state and local governments it is of tremendous importance that this situation be clearly conceived. What I have said is not true of every power that congress may attempt to exercise. When state bank notes were taxed out of existence, congress directly interfered with and in effect prohibited what the states positively permitted. And when the federal bankruptcy law became effective the state laws upon the subject were in effect, though not in form, repealed. But when congress acts under what has become its most expansive power for effectuating economic and social legislation—to wit, the commerce power—the effect is as I have indicated. We may rail at the limitations of this power; we may be sometimes discouraged at the brittle quality of its alleged expansive attribute when the firm hands of the courts take hold of it; but unless we are ready to scrap our federal system completely, we must recognize that the gradual and halting expansion of national activity under the commerce clause, receiving stimulus from, and giving stimulus to, state action of similar character, may in the long run be more satisfactory than a process by which one after another of the powers of the states should be exclusively taken over by the national government.

#### THE PROPOSAL FOR FEDERALIZATION

It is a curious fact that at the very moment when there is in this country some expectation that the powers of the states in our federal system will be greatly weakened as a result of war and after-war conditions, the pro-

posal for federalization is being earnestly put forward in Great Britain, more forcefully than ever before—federalization, that is, not of the British Empire but of Great Britain and Ireland. It is true that this movement is prompted largely by the perennial Irish question; but it is receiving strong support also in point of principle and in point of political wisdom, upon the theory that a sphere of autonomy for England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales would relieve Parliament of some of its burdens and would foster a healthy spirit of self-dependence on the part of the several autonomous units. The world is at unrest. Let us not be enamored of change merely because we feel this restlessness.

## NATION PLANNING

FREDERICK L. ACKERMAN  
*New York*<sup>1</sup>

### THE NATIONAL PURPOSE

**I**N this tremendous world war the areas of united action have expanded; the common good,—the aims of all free men have become vivid. And to nations, states, municipalities, to property, capital, credit, to groups, individuals and to the labor of brain and hand new values have been assigned which express our new concept of their relative worth as factors contributing to the purpose made vivid in this war.

And this purpose is the achievement of a state of true democracy, international and national, which assigns to the individual the highest value and yet demands that for the good of all he victoriously subordinate himself.

But *can* a national purpose in times of war differ from a true democratic national purpose in times of peace? *Can* the worth of the individual vary with the degree of vividness with which the aims of a true democracy are revealed?

The national purpose in times of peace and the national purpose in times of war must coincide; and the value of the individual cannot change simply because his worth is made more vivid by the call to arms. *As the truly national purpose is revealed it is the value of nations, of states, of property, of capital and credit which really shifts as we see more clearly their true worth as factors contributing toward a true democracy.*

And so, it is obvious, when we glance back to the pre-war days, that our function for the time being is not primarily that of developing a new technique of administration or government; it is that of making perfectly clear to the masses of men what is really meant by the term democracy. Our task is to present a truly rational philosophy of life in such simple terms and through the use of such simple illustrations as would demon-

<sup>1</sup> Emergency Fleet Corporation.

strate that it is not only logical, but highly desirable and entirely feasible to organize society,—that is, government, to the end that a true democracy shall obtain. If we fail to make the meaning of democracy perfectly clear, we shall have failed utterly in this great war. But can we formulate such a philosophy; can we make it vivid; can we retain the values now assigned to individuals?

It is thus that we have our problem stated.

And we must beware of danger,—the greatest of all dangers attending the formulation of a program of future action. Such a program is almost certain to develop into a labyrinth of uncharted paths leading to an infinite number of ends. This we must avoid; for the desired end is,—above all it must be, a simplification of life. For if our effort fails in this respect, if it adds but laws and statutes, it can have no possible value.

But we think of government in terms of law; and I realize that the subject of national planning cannot be treated without introducing debate concerning legislative, administrative and judicial technique, the private initiation of enterprise versus government initiation and control, and the ever present topic,—state's rights. But I do not propose to deal with the subject from these angles, for I fully realize that by such an approach we would completely and inevitably obscure the vital issue at stake; we would return by a circle to our point of departure.

The governments of the western world during the last score or so of years have extended their functions to include an ever widening field of collective provision. Should government express in the technique of its administration the entire range of purposes associated with the true aims of men, of society, rather than but a part? Shall we extend the function of government to include a wider field of collective provision? Should we not make collective provision the vivid function of government?

*It is the development and the expansion of precisely this field which constitutes the basis of a liberal program of reconstruction.*

But we were to discuss the topic,—National Planning. What has preceded may have seemed remote. It is not remote because of the simple, elemental reason that there can be no such thing as national planning so long as there is lacking a clear definition of a national purpose.

#### IS NATIONAL PLANNING VISIONARY?

To propose that we should set about the organization of the entire physical plan of the United States may appear as a visionary proposal. But, as individuals, do we embark upon any great undertaking,—as intelligent individuals, do we embark upon any undertaking whatsoever without first having prepared a plan, whether well reasoned or otherwise? We do not; and yet, with respect to the development of the United States, we are proceeding without a plan.

When we were faced with the actual problem of going to war in Europe,

this condition must have been realized to a certain degree; for one of the first acts of the federal government was the placing of our railroad transportation systems under a single command. The necessity for this act was not questioned except by a very few. The obvious advantage, the necessity, was evident. The railroads were brought under one command: the federal government took over their operation. The problem of the future as we now view it with respect to the railroads relates to the nature of the policy to be continued after the war. Concerning that there will surely be debate.

But out of this unity of command, one important condition, at least, has been revealed. The railroads had not been organized,—their development had not been directed along such lines that it was possible to derive the maximum benefit from unit control: For they had been planned and projected with quite another purpose in view. And that purpose was the speculative profits to be derived from their promotion, the development of new areas, and from state and federal land grants. Their organization was not based upon any comprehensive plan of national economy nor the hope of more adequate collective provision. Particularly is this true with respect to our long competing lines which tap territory contributary to each, to the lack of adequate terminals and transfers at strategic points inland and upon our seabards, to an utter lack of co-ordination with inland waterways, and with respect to the development of commerce with other nations, and to the complex and wasteful conditions surrounding their entrance into our cities where we utterly ignore the economic distribution of commodities and food to our urban populations.

We have made but meagre use of our inland waterways. Railroads have worked in opposition to the development of these natural carriers. Transportation by water has been, for the greater part, abandoned.

It is really the central planning—the scientific, physical organization—of our railroads and the intelligent direction of their future growth and development and not their ownership and operation which should be the subject of our greatest concern. The errors resulting from their hasty, ill considered projection must be corrected before we may hope for real economy or real efficiency, in their operation.

We may glibly state that it is the duty of a certain state or a certain city or a certain corporation or a combination of the three to organize and provide for a system of transportation with great terminals to more adequately provide for a need that is national; but that does not necessarily lead to accomplishment. *Matters of this sort are developed locally to the extent that the local needs are recognized; and the scale of such developments are local and not national.* The subject is too large to be directed by other than the federal government itself. This is not a matter of theory; experience indicates clearly that neither corporations, municipi-

palities not states can direct an enterprise of this magnitude; self-interest is too blind or ignorant to achieve a truly national scheme.

#### THE ARTIFICIALITY OF STATE BOUNDARIES

It will be argued that the value of local initiative in matters such as we are discussing is essential. There is reason back of such a statement with respect to details; but we must not let that blind us to the tremendously important condition that the geographical divisions into states expresses merely a line upon a map, bearing no relation to physical geography and little or no relation to present or future social groupings. *These state lines are artificial political boundaries which must be completely ignored in the organization of the physical plan for the economic use of the entire area of the nation.*

We must recognize that the areas associated with the term "local" are constantly expanding. The many modern mediums of communication,—the telephone, the telegraph, the "wireless," the railroads, the automobiles, the aeroplanes, the press,—all these have extended the boundaries of our contact with men and things. The effect of individual or group action has so changed and expanded through the development of these means of intercommunication that the old formulas relating to the value of "local" initiative must be completely restated.

And precisely the same condition applies to the physical relation of our cities and their states: The boundary is a political boundary,—artificial both with respect to physical geography and social groupings. Here, again, we must break down that condition which obtains in their governments which blocks a broad, comprehensive consideration of the problems surrounding their physical planning and their physical and social integration. There must be created a central authority to deal broadly with the tremendously important problem of physically linking up municipalities in states and in adjacent states, and the future use of the areas located between them must be planned prior to occupancy in order that the same shall be developed in a manner consistent with each area's logical use. To allow our cities to expand along lines determined solely by the intensely local purpose of the land developer or by selfish local interest is to lay upon our future an ever accumulating burden of costly corrections which represent an utter economic loss.

#### COMMUNITY EXPANSION

The purposeless way in which our communities expand has been made too evident to those engaged in the development of housing schemes for the government. In not a single community where shipbuilding plants have been established was there in existence a forward looking plan for future growth which could be used as the basis of the housing schemes for ship workers. There was no time to plan the adjacent areas nor to over-

come the lack of prevision; and so, one and all, these new communities represent the hopeful organization of a patch upon a condition of near chaos in town planning.

Consider the immediate problems confronting our cities; note the many schemes prepared for their re-planning; consider the cost of these and also consider the nature of the hoped for result. In New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston; in the smaller cities throughout the states we are confronted with the same problems. At an enormous cost we propose no more than a partial correction of our errors; we add mechanism to mechanism in the hope that a better condition will result. Excellent as is our intention in the preparation of these schemes, the fact remains that they are, in effect, as a bit of salve where a major operation is necessary. We must increase the scale of our operations and deal with larger areas. All of the factors affecting the growth and development of our cities must be taken into account in their planning and their re-planning.

We can, now, with a reasonable degree of accuracy, project the very remote needs with respect to provision for the entire Atlantic coast. Harbors, ports, the necessary supporting agricultural areas may to-day be projected. Why not organize the outlines of a plan for the development of this entire area? Why not deal with the entire national problem? Why not proceed from now on with a plan which looks toward permanence rather than instability?

The physical planning of the nations is first of all and supremely an act of prevision; it is the organization of prevision, social and physical; it is essentially a scientific treatment of the whole. And this can be accomplished through but one central authority representing not the needs or desires of individuals, corporations, cities or states, but the needs and desires of all.

I do not imply that it should be the function of the central government to provide in *all* its detail the future growth and development of each and every part of the United States, but I do suggest,—I state emphatically,—that a central authority must take upon itself the task of directing the major outlines of such a plan, for in no other way is it possible for us to adequately and economically develop the smaller areas which should and must be left to local initiative after the broad plan of development has once emerged.

#### THE INADEQUACY OF ECONOMIC FORCES

In answer to the argument that economic forces will, when left to themselves, develop such a plan, I would but point out the inadequacy of our port and terminal facilities along our seabords. Consider the situation around Philadelphia. Here is a harbor of real value locally and nationally,—a harbor sorely needed at this time and essential to the future commerce in which we should engage. The building of piers, of docks, and the sundry other elements essential to a harbor have not been developed

by local interests nor are they likely to be; but if these should be developed, they will not make a great port for the simple reason that the conditions which must obtain to make Philadelphia a great port lie entirely without the authority and control of that municipality. The great lines of transportation now pass around Philadelphia and do not reach the harbor; the waterways which might serve the ports and the entire region to the north and to the west have not been developed. Philadelphia will not become a port in scale with national needs until a national authority fosters the development of the more remote conditions essential to such a development.

Scan the coast of the United States; where are there adequate port developments in scale with the nation? These do not now exist nor will they exist until a truly national authority defines the problem, projects the future national needs, and proceeds with the development of a plan having that organized purpose in view.

But a *truly national* plan must be organized about a *truly national purpose*. Therefore, what should be that purpose? Upon what theory, and by the aid of what experiences shall we direct the organization of the grand plan for our national development? What shall be the central idea?

Shall our plan for developing our railroads, main lines and branches, our inland waterways, our highways, our ports and our terminals and our industrial and agricultural areas be predicated upon the belief that we may go on expanding our cities indefinitely, massing together great populations engaged solely in commerce or in the fabrication of materials? Shall our great national plan lead up toward an ever increasing congestion of population, toward a more complex and artificial life? Shall we carry over into the days of future growth our concept of life as so vividly revealed in the manner in which the majority of men live in our great cities and in our industrial centers?

If we base our national plan upon such a concept, our plan will not be worth the making. What our soldiers will think who come back from war-spent Europe I do not know; but if I may venture the guess, they will insistently question, as we now question, the value of that stupid, depressing environment which we created by our purposeless effort in the pre-war days.

#### THE RESTLESSNESS OF LABOR—ITS MEANING

We do not have to await the return of the soldier from abroad. The mass of men have already voiced their opinion: not in terms defined and coherent, but in the restlessness attending employment. The mass of men were not content before the war, nor are they content to-day; and one of the reasons,—the outstanding reason—is not a question of wage so much as it is the nature, the character, of the social and the physical

environment in which they live,—an environment produced by their own labor.

Look at any of our great industrial or commercial centers, and observe closely how the mass of men live; observe what they do during their leisure hours. Is it any wonder that there is discontent? Why should this great mass of men who live in our slums and tenements and in our "factory towns" be contented? There is no valid reason; for the visible product of their labor is neither pleasing nor permanent and it effectively suppresses every natural instinct. They work, one and all, at the making of cheap, temporary things, which in turn produces the cheap, unstable environment in which they live.

Take, for example, any recently developed industrial town of the East or the Middle West which has sprung from a tiny center in less than a score of years. The capital, the wealth there created by labor in the vast majority of cases finds no reflection whatsoever in the physical expression of the community: there are the factories,—ugly and uninviting; the groups of houses likewise ugly and ill arranged; the system of streets organized, if organized at all, upon the basis of the gridiron plan with little or no thought of the possibilities of future growth; look at them,—mere organizations of temporary things, built with the definite end in view that they shall be scrapped in order that someone may gain the increment of value resulting from occupancy and communal activity. Can we stand the economic loss due to the insistent demand for frequent "turnover" of capital invested in the homes of the people? Most emphatically we cannot,—if we hope to hold a leading social and commercial position among nations whose purpose is otherwise.

Can we go on multiplying the complex problems resulting from makeshift planning, such as is evident in Greater New York and in every large city in the United States? The newly opened subway station at Broadway and Times square typifies the direction of our so-called progress which is in the main but lack of prevision.

#### FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF STATES

If we are to have a plan for the future physical development of our cities, we must have one for the future development of our states: if we are likewise to have a plan for the future development of our states, we must have one for the future development of the United States; and that plan must be organized around an acknowledgment that life, as now expressed in our centers of population, is an empty life for the vast majority of men that is not worth the struggle.

And so it is that in our nation planning we must choose as our central theme the idea that the work, the labor, the creative effort of all men shall have as its end the creation of as high a type of environment for *all* men as it is possible for us to conceive. We must organize our communities,

not with the idea that the home and its related communal features shall be shifting things which are ever to give way to the encroachments of industry and commerce, but as permanent elements,—the permanent element which must remain and around which the processes of production shall revolve.

This idea is not new. We have taken the first step; we have already begun to district or to zone our cities. But how timidly and how unscientifically have we done this! With what pains have we developed a compromise! And yet, even our timid, unscientific compromise is of value, for it indicates the acceptance of a rational idea with respect to the goal to be achieved.

The difference between what we have accomplished and what we should accomplish is largely a matter of scale. Shall we attempt to make life merely bearable,—tolerable,—or shall we strike out boldly with a program which will look toward making life for all men truly satisfying? No less than this shall we attempt to do.

But what does this mean in terms of national planning? What are the essentials of the problem? *It means, first of all, that we must deal with the land question with respect to both rural and urban areas.* The increment of value created by collective occupancy and use must be wrested from the speculators and so organized that it may be used for the benefit of all. This is a first step which must be taken before the national physical plan can be realized in terms of collective provision.

*It means also that we must accept a new concept with respect to what we term the town or the city.*

#### GARDEN CITIES

The principles which we use in districting our cities with respect to height, volume and to the occupancy of building is at bottom the same as that which underlies the development of Letchworth, the first garden city in England; the application of this principle differs merely in technique and in scale. The Letchworth ideas include the application of districting prior to occupancy and the development of the increment in land values. Our method is that merely of compromise,—after it is too late to reap the benefit of action. The Letchworth idea again deals with large agricultural areas. We confine our action solely to already congested centers of population.

*We must increase the scale in our application of this principle to include the treatment of rural as well as urban areas.* A broader point of view, a new sense of scale we must achieve; for we are not dealing, in this national scheme, with individuals, with groups nor with a hundred million of people. Two hundred, three hundred, four hundred millions of people,—the future generations—are involved in our program. If we fail in this, the agricultural lands required for the maintenance of our population

engaged in commerce and in manufacturing will give way to the inroads of the latter.

*National planning must include in its scope the application of the districting idea over all areas likely to be developed. This requires the development of regional surveys far more comprehensive in scope than anything yet attempted.* The physical resources and the possible economic development of each and every part of the entire area of the nation must direct the outlines of our plan.

#### EXTENSION OF ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS

But how shall we accomplish this? How may we proceed? What shall be the framework of the organization to carry on this vast undertaking? In terms of administrative technique I shall not attempt a detailed answer. But I will suggest that by nature the problem requires the extension of administrative powers and more "liberal" judicial decisions; that we cannot deal with it through mere legislative initiation nor the exercise of police authority nor by impotent citizen commissions. There must be permanent, central executive agencies, municipal, state and federal, to deal with matters of this sort and to serve as the focus of experiments and of the knowledge gained in practice. These agencies must be expert and liberal. In our municipalities, their physical organization is generally in the hands of the city engineer. When it is proposed that the city's physical arrangement be changed or works of importance developed, there is usually appointed a citizen commission, oftentimes unpaid, which is empowered to employ experts. These citizen commissions generate some interest and public sentiment, but they rarely possess power: they render their report to a non-technical legislative body and pray for favorable action. Sometimes such action follows; more often the report is tabled. So it is with our states; and as for the nation, there is no single body charged with the duty of surveying the conditions and organizing the physical element into a plan expressive of unity of purpose.

We have left this tremendously important problem suspended, as it were, in mid air. It is really the business of no executive authority to look after matters of this sort. There are functionaries with little power: but there are no administrative cabinet advisers to deal with this problem and to press upon the executive and the legislatures of our cities or states or the nation the importance of action and direction; and what is of equal importance, of bringing to a focus the result of experience, and experience with this field. For upon the result of experience, and upon comprehensive surveys must the nature of all legislative action depend. And here we must enter a new field. Constructive legislation, so-called, must largely supplant restrictive measures. *The control and direction of credit must serve as the motivating power in developing the outlines of the plan in reality.*

Survey our environment as disclosed in our centers of population; note the utter lack of forehanded planning; note the jostling crowd of structures,—commercial, industrial, residential,—built as taxpayers awaiting the arrival of the appreciation of land values. Note the short-lived, ugly contractions which we devise to provide for suburban transportation; the jumble of steel shapes and galvanized iron occupying our streets and what could have been, through the exercise of a little foresight, the open spaces in our plan. Note our pre-empted water fronts.

What is our outstanding impression? Is it not that all these elements which comprise our cities are temporary and makeshift? Surely we *cannot* mean that these contrivances are permanent. If we do, what an expression of permanence!

No! We do not consider them permanent; they were projected in haste to meet an immediate need,—a need arising out of our lack of pre-vision and foresighted planning; and we expect to scrap them.

But why should we scrap these things,—our communities? Why should we thus constantly waste the capital which is the product of labor, thus invested? Why?

Because we have not thought this problem of organizing our environment through to a conclusion: because we have made no mature plans based upon accurate and comprehensive surveys of immediate and projected need.

#### WASTE OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

Can we continue this process? Can we continue to waste our accumulating capital and our labor in building temporary buildings, temporary cities? We cannot: we have already reached a point where it is of vital importance that we conserve our man power as well as our other material resources; we must make every stroke of our hammers count.

Nor can we afford,—we cannot possibly afford to allow our labor to remain in idleness during extended periods as we have in the past. Of all losses, individual and national, the loss of labor is the least excusable.

With comprehensive plans before our cities for their orderly development; with plans before our states and before the nation looking toward the future organization of the major elements; and with a formulated plan for the use of the credit of municipalities, of states and the nation, it would be possible,—it would above all be feasible to assume that the use of labor in the provision of these elements could be so organized as to make it utterly impossible to run head on into periods of depression with the attending want and the bread line.

This is the key to the entire problem. It is the intelligent use of capital, the credit of our municipalities, or states, of the federal government, which must be made the creative agent in establishing the framework of the national plan.

For this very purpose do we now use credit. It is the principle which underlies the operation of the Farm loan board. This represents, however, but a tiny fragment of a comprehensive plan of action. It is, however, a significant fragment, for it establishes the principle that the direction of national credit is necessary to counteract the forces which gather about the use of capital lodged in the hands of groups whose interests are individual and local and whose acts, based upon selfishness and economic fallacies, develop conditions which are anti-social.

There is no greater fallacy than that expressed in the warning not to tamper with the great natural economic currents. Natural economic currents have not existed since the dawn of the most primitive civilization.

But what do we mean by "economic"; do we really know? Has the term a definite meaning? To me, as it is now used, it is but an apology, an excuse, a scientific curtain which we draw to conceal our selfishness.

We know too well the waste in life exacted by our industrial system, our system of credit, by our lack of prevision, by the sordid, unsanitary conditions under which a vast number of our population live, and sometimes our spirit rebels. We are filled with a great sympathy and an earnest desire to help; but we are halted in action by an influence, a power, which says: "thou shalt not," for such action would not be "economic"; which is the same as saying that the moneys invested would fail to return a certain fixed per cent. We have chosen the wrong norm of measuring values in the western world; "economic" we associate with invested capital and interest return when we should associate it with values related to life.

And so it is that in the technique of reconstructing old cities and in developing the new, and in linking them up to the natural resources and the great agricultural areas still to be really developed, and which must be maintained to make life possible, new laws, new administrative methods, new systems of credit may be of little avail. Again would we develop congestion, the slum and soulless industry just so long as our "economic" norm of measuring accomplishment is associated with the narrow financial meaning surrounding its present use. The term "economic" must be based upon a condition associated with life and not with money.

Utopian, impractical, a dream! Why? Does it so appear simply because this concept of basic values does not happen to coincide with that in common use? That is no sufficient reason. We may develop all sorts of motions which simulate forward movement in the attempted execution of our program of reconstruction; but we, the states, the nation and the entire world will mark time in the march of human progress so long as we cling to the fallacies surrounding the use of this term.

## PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

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### THE OLD AND SIMPLE CREED OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

Men of my generation who in their youth entered upon the study of political economy found already prepared for them a perfectly clean-cut system of dogma which may be briefly summarized as follows: "The individual is the unit of society. Each person by pursuing his own interest arrives at the goal for which his talents and aptitudes best fit him. Capitalists compete with one another and the most efficient producer of goods survives. Laborers compete with one another and each receives a wage which is accurately adjusted to the value of his labor as determined by supply and demand. It follows from this line of reasoning that prices, wages, and conditions of living are not matters of concern to the government and that the sole function of the state is to draw an iron ring about the individuals battling for their respective rewards, keeping the peace within the sphere of liberty thus delimited. The grand result of the untrammeled individual quest for success is inevitably the greatest good for the greatest number, perfect liberty, social harmony, universal well-being, utopia."

### OUR LITTLE SYSTEMS HAVE THEIR DAY

This theory of political economy was exceedingly attractive to my youthful mind. Indeed it seemed to appeal irresistibly to all those who like simple finality and who enjoy sinking back into comfortable and effortless security after having recited their creed. The only trouble with the splendid scheme of logic lay in the fact that the world persistently refused to walk in the ways prescribed by the doctors of political economy. Capitalists insisted on combining, and laborers insisted on forming unions and thus there was built up within the state two great powers, each of which exercised a marked influence on the course of public policy. Moreover, the government, which was to do nothing but act as a policeman keeping order among individuals battling for their respective rewards in this world's goods, found itself, in spite of the best of intentions, compelled to undertake work which, according to the doctors of political economy, it was physically and mentally unable to do.

### GOVERNMENT WOVEN INTO THE TEXTURE OF OUR ECONOMIC LIFE

Indeed the most striking feature of modern politics is the steady increase in the number and variety of governmental activities. It makes no

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difference what party is in authority. It may be the party of Hamilton and nationalism which was early committed to the doctrine that the powers of the general government should be used freely and generously to protect, assist, and encourage private enterprises; or it may be the party of Jefferson and the New Freedom which, traditionally at least, is committed to the principle that the government which governs least is best. Each party cries out at the type of interference devised by the other and proceeds to propose its own lines of intervention. Democrats solemnly inform us that a protective tariff is unconstitutional and proceed to create a commission of experts presumably for the purpose of discovering what kind of protection is good for the country. Leading Republicans disinter Herbert Spencer's Mid-Victorian doctrines of individualism and publish them to mankind as the latest word on sound politics and then solemnly warn us that unless we have government intervention in the form of a protective tariff, labor and capital will perish from the United States. Democrats defend the government's use of power to establish an eight-hour day or higher wages for chosen workmen and then decry as outrageous the government's interference in the form of a tariff, theoretically favoring the maintenance of a high wage standard in American industries. New York city property owners protest in the name of liberty and humanity against orders requiring them to install fire prevention apparatus, and then turn around and demand in the name of good city planning the protection of their property rights against encroachment.

To speak concretely of developments, before our entrance into the Great War the congress of the United States established an eight-hour workday for certain railway employes and created a commission to observe its operations—presumably a commission of men charged with the slight duty of mastering the mysteries of railway operation within a period of a few months. It created a shipping board with extraordinary powers in the matter of building up a national merchant marine. It passed a federal employes compensation law and authorized a commission to administer its provisions. It founded a farm loan board to engage in rural banking and be responsible among other things for learning the technicalities of agricultural economics. It appointed a committee to study the whole problem of government ownership of railways. It enacted a cotton futures law, a grain standards law, and a warehouse law, all calling for expert knowledge of broad domains of private economy. I shall say nothing of such light matters as the interstate commerce commission, which had control over all the intricate processes of common carriers, of the federal trade commission, of the work of valuating railways, of pure food laws calling for experts in chemistry and bacteriology, or of state and municipal enterprises demanding the highest talent in every branch of science and economics. Moreover, I shall say nothing of the war meas-

ures, of the war industries board, war risk insurance, the United States housing bureau, the war trade board, and the league of nations.

We may differ among ourselves as to the wisdom of this or that act or this or that type of intervention and undertaking, but we know that most of this new governmental functioning is not the product of Democratic perversity, Republican paternalism, or Socialist vagaries—it is the product of our industrial civilization. It may be diminished here or altered there, but it cannot disappear unless we return to the hand loom, the stage coach and the tallow dip. I may be wrong, but I believe the day is past when any organization of capital or labor will be permitted without government intervention to paralyze or even tie up indefinitely any one of the great industrial processes upon which the life of the people depends. If this is true, then the government has ahead of it more staggering enterprises than any that it has yet undertaken.

#### GROUPS OF LABOR VIEWED FROM THE STANDPOINT OF RELATION TO GOVERNMENT

When we come to face therefore the facts as contrasted with the theories of modern government we find ourselves reluctantly compelled to confront the whole area of industry and employment in all of its varied phases, especially with reference to conditions of labor and factors of efficient production. The Great War has only emphasized what close observers have long known, namely, that the organization and mobilization of labor is the heart of the whole problem of industrial efficiency. Viewed from this standpoint all labor comes into one of three vital relations to the government:

1. Those engaged in purely private enterprises, such as garment-making, boot and shoe-making, and the like. With regard to this group, the relations of the government to private activities are somewhat remote but nevertheless real because the government must prescribe the conditions under which labor and capital can be organized and strikes conducted. This inevitably involves an attitude and a policy. The government can create legal and police conditions which will readily break strikes no matter how well organized, or it can assume an attitude which though apparently impartial, will facilitate the effectiveness of the strike as an instrument of economic coercion. The future position of the government with regard to this matter will undoubtedly be controlled in a large measure by our standards as to employment conditions and will in turn profoundly affect the course of industrial evolution. In other words, whatever that policy may be it will produce reactions that will alter it. Moreover, as the number of persons employed directly by the government increases the principle of marginal utility will apply and the wages paid, and the conditions established by the government will materially affect the wages and standards in purely private enterprises.

This, however, need not concern us here but it must be taken into account by those who attempt to deal in a large way with the problems of public employment.

2. Without stopping to consider that a very large group of workers employed in mines and basic industries enjoying special advantages through a quasi-monopolistic command of natural resources which will no doubt bear an increasingly significant relation to the government in the future, we may take up next in order of their public relationship the millions of workers employed by the railways and public utility concerns throughout the United States. Such workers fall in a special class because the income of their employers is subject to public regulation and control. Although up to the present time we have viewed the regulation of utility rates largely from the standpoint of service to consumer, it cannot be doubted that we shall be shortly compelled to take into account the wages and conditions of labor which will be determined by the rates fixed. Indeed the time is now arrived for this consideration. In the face of rising costs of labor and materials the low rates granted to utilities are beginning to react in the form of poorer service. When the demand for better service is made utility companies reply that they cannot improve service without securing better labor and that they cannot improve labor conditions unless they can charge rates that will admit of higher wages; and so we revolve in the vicious circle. Nevertheless, when all is said and done we are face to face with the fact that wherever the government, national, state, or local, regulates rates it does by that fact assume moral responsibility and actual responsibility for labor conditions and to that extent also it must have a positive labor policy. This seems as unescapable as the axioms of the multiplication table.

3. Finally, we come to that growing army of persons employed by the government directly. On the eve of our entrance into the Great War a competent engineer, Mr. J. L. Jacobs of Chicago, estimated the number of civil servants employed by all governmental divisions in the United States at a figure between 1,880,000 and 1,980,000. In a short time we shall have two million regular government employes—a number equal to almost two-thirds the white population of the United States when the Republic was established. This number was about doubled by the government's assumption of the management of the railways and at least 300,000 more were added by the taking over of the express, telephone, telegraph, wireless, and cable systems. No doubt many will find comfort in the thought that this latter aggregation of workers will return to the sphere of private enterprise after the war, but such will do well to remember that the Adamson law was enacted in 1916 and that these workers, on the return to private ownership if it comes, will all fall within the second group mentioned above, namely, public utility workers whose wages depend in the last instance upon the rates fixed by the government—national, state,

or local. Not even the most venturesome have suggested that transportation and utility companies should be permitted to fix any rates they please. Shippers and the general traveling public would not allow that, even if organized labor had no voice in the matter.

#### ELEMENTS OF A CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY

It seems, therefore, whether we like it or not, that we are driven by the irresistible forces of circumstances to face the necessity of developing a governmental labor and employment policy extending far beyond our ordinary concept of the merit system in civil service.

In analyzing this problem into its elements the following matters imperatively command consideration:

I—Recognition on the part of the public of the vital character of trained technical service. The public must be educated to appreciate the necessity for trained and expert leadership especially in the higher ranges of public administration, because, next to the increase in the number of public employes the most striking fact in modern politics is the variety and complexity of the burdens we have thrown upon public employes. They must be proficient in all the known sciences; they must master the intricacies of industrial and transportation technology; they must be proficient in chemistry, bacteriology, engineering, economics, accounting, finance, and all the difficult branches of public administration. A few generations ago, a president of the United States could truthfully say, "The duties of all public officers are, or at least admit of being made, so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance." Contrast this genial assumption with technical facts of modern administration. The trained technologist and manager is the keystone of the arch. This was fully recognized by Lenin, the leader of the Russian Bolsheviks, in his remarkable speech before the Russian soviet at Moscow last March, in which he took the position that without expert accounting, managerial, and technical service the whole structure of social democracy would crumble to dust, in spite of the loyalty of the proletariat and the moral enthusiasm of the idealists. Surely this is a wholesome warning to those Americans who in their self-sufficient ignorance propose to conduct government without experts.<sup>2</sup>

II—Reconstruction of civil service along lines of sound employment administration. With a public educated to a full appreciation of the place of technical service in modern government we have the following tasks before us: (1) So ordering our civil service that men and women can find careers in it, rising from the humblest positions to the highest and migrating from city to city and state to state with the course of enlarged

<sup>2</sup> The author does not overlook the fact that the arrogance of many self-constituted experts is partly responsible for the discredit that has befallen them in some quarters.

opportunities; (2) standardization of salaries and grades; (3) the establishment of institutions and courses of instruction to train for the opportunities in the public service provided by an enlightened public; (4) provision for the continuous training of those admitted to the lower ranges of the public service while they are in the service, thus preparing them for progressive advancement according to their talents and aptitudes, thus opening careers to ability all the way from the grade school to the highest technical position in the country; (5) the development of a science of public administration in all of its branches to take the place of that pseudoscience of administrative law which is in the main a guide to the art of administrative nihilism.

III—Transformation of our civil service commissions into employment administration departments, charged not so much with the duty of keeping rascals out as with the infinitely more important task of getting efficient workers in. Our commissions should become genuine recruiting agencies prepared to supply the government with the type of service needed at any moment, with maintaining a loyal personnel, with working hand in hand with educational leaders, organized labor, and public employment bureaus. If it be said that politics in the low sense will make this impossible, my reply is that in the present crisis of the world, politics of the old and evil days must become impossible. Whoever is not prepared for that is an enemy of America.

IV—The right of public employes to organize associations other than those purely benevolent in character. This implies the right to elect agents and deal with the government as ordinary unions deal with their employers. A necessary corollary of this is the right to affiliate with unions of specific trades and finally with general federations. Inevitably this involves the right to exercise political and economic coercion, to strike and picket. Already the signs of a movement in this direction are apparent among certain groups of federal employes and some city employes.

It is, of course, easy for an excited patriot to declare flatly that public employes should never have the right to strike. It is certainly shocking to think of the post-office employes laying down their mail bags and walking out, and it might be easy in the present stage of our political development to forbid such action under drastic penalties. Nevertheless, with the growth in the number of public employes, their increasing organization and their tendency to affiliate with other labor organizations, it is hardly to be doubted that we shall have to face in the field of public employment something more formidable than the ordinary association that annually beseeches congress for an improvement in the conditions of employment. It is not what would be ideally perfect, or what would meet our personal convenience most happily that we shall have to consider, but rather, what balances, compromises, co-operative adjustments, and moderations of forces we can best make for the public good. Those are

the truly wise who reckon with their host. If public employees are denied the right to organize and to use coercive measures, they must then leave their fate entirely in the hands of a benevolent legislature; and it must be said that the wages and hours of many public servants are not such as to convince a close observer that the government is always a benevolent employer. But that is not all. Assuming for the sake of argument that the government could be counted upon to be as benevolent or even more benevolent than private employers, experience has shown that the growing spirit of the independence among those who labor calls for a participation in the social process other than that of drawing the pay check. It is not benevolence that America stands for. The Hohenzollerns were benevolent in times of peace; the spirit of America is the spirit of self-government and any scheme of political economy which leaves the spirit of the people out of account is not well founded. By the careful use of such powers of observation as we can command and the use of such natural reason as is vouchsafed to us by Providence we seem driven to the conclusion that our governments, national, state, and local, must be prepared to deal with large bodies of powerfully organized labor, with potential coercive powers to be restrained not by legislative fiat but by the spread of the co-operative idea and the adoption of co-operative policies in public employment.

V—Closely related to the subject just mentioned is the problem of a more reasoned policy with regard to the political activities of public employees. This question falls into two rather distinct parts, namely, in what political activities bearing directly upon their hours, wages, and conditions of employment may public employees engage; and secondly, in what political activities relating to the general issues of citizenship may they participate? We now have an ill-digested mass of federal and state legislation and executive orders on these matters which, on examination, reveals no consistent public policy. We see women discharged from employment for advocating woman suffrage, on the ground that such advocacy constitutes political activity.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, we find men in public employment in our states running for the legislature on the Socialist ticket and at the same time retaining their positions. Shall a man be discharged from public office on account of his advocacy of a single tax, antivivisection, or the short ballot? Are we to exclude from political life thousands of our best men and women, to deprive them of the right to participate in the affairs of citizenship not merely passively by voting but by open and honorable advocacy of public policies? Obviously this is a question not to be answered lightly, but it must be answered. With the increase in the number of those in government employment a negative answer becomes impossible.

<sup>3</sup> It is fair to say that the accuracy of this statement has been challenged and that there has been no time to make an exhaustive examination of the charges and answers.

To sum it all up, how can we make our science of government a true science of administration rather than a device for distributing party spoils, and how can we, at the same time, retain and develop those democratic ideals which we have thought worthy of this great nation? Indeed, it may be that we shall very soon be compelled to answer a still more significant question, namely, how well prepared is the government to aid in the substitution of co-operative mediation between producer and consumer for the mediation thus far furnished by business men alone? Those who cannot bear the light had better not lift the veil.

## PROBLEM OF RECONSTRUCTION WITH RESPECT TO URBAN TRANSPORTATION

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WE have reached a crisis in the street railway business. The crisis has been hastened by the extraordinary prices of labor and materials and by the scarcity of capital incident to the carrying on of an unprecedented war in an unprecedented way, but its origin lies much farther back. It is doubtful whether the close of the war will restore normal conditions in local transportation, and even if approximately the old conditions should be brought back it will not be easy for the street railways to recover from the severe financial distress of the present time. It is like a long spell of sickness with a man who is past his prime. The street railways may "get around again," but they will "never be quite the same" as they were before. Only the other day at the conference of the American Electric Railway Association in New York city a resolution was introduced by the president of the Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light Company and referred to the executive committee of the association for consideration and report, setting forth the present status of the street railway industry from the companies' point of view and declaring in favor of the public acquisition and the future public operation and development of the street railways of the country. It cannot be doubted that the street railway companies are suffering from some desperate malady when the cause of municipal ownership begins to get recruits in these high quarters.

### THE FIVE-CENT FARE AS THE BASIS OF SPECULATION

The traditional fixed five-cent fare with general free transfer privileges has heretofore been the chief bastion of the speculative line of defense in the street railway business. The municipality, without transit initiative,

generally without transit powers, has said to the street railway promoter: "Here is a franchise to use our streets. You may charge five cents a ride. Go to it and make what you can." That looked good to the promoter, and so he established a stock and bond factory for the purpose of carrying out his speculation. It must be admitted, I think, that in the development of street railway systems and the corporations which control them in this country, the idea of public service has generally been incidental. The driving force, the motive that has negotiated franchises, engineered leases, consolidations and mergers, and piled Ossa on Pelion in the organization of holding companies, has in the main been the desire for illegitimate profits. I do not refer in this connection to the superintendents of transportation and other members of the operating forces, but rather to the financial magnates who deal in traction securities and exercise ultimate control over street railway policies from the private point of view. These gentlemen reside in the financial centers of the country and in their manipulation of street railway properties represent all the evils of indirect, unregulated, absentee ownership. The application of the gambler's motives to the control and manipulation of street railways has resulted in almost universal overcapitalization, inflated claims of value, and reckless financing. The street railway business is now on the rocks. The speculative régime has proved to be a dismal and deadly failure.

#### WHAT STREET RAILWAY COMPANIES SEEK TO ACCOMPLISH DURING THE WAR

In the present era of financial distress, when it is evident that there is no future for speculation in street railway enterprises, the public service corporations are seeking to save themselves by accomplishing three things:

First, the definite abrogation of their contracts with respect to rates and fare limits.

Second, the definite public recognition of their capitalization and earnings prior to the war as not excessive.

Third, the definite shifting of responsibility for wage increases to public agencies, with the corollary that the bill is to be passed on to the ratepayers.

Everybody is sick and tired of the speculative game as applied to urban transit, but there is trouble about the conditions upon which the transition to a new order should be made. The gamblers who have lost are unwilling to pay up and the gamblers who have won are unwilling to give up. The public is being asked to make good past losses as well as to assume future risks. The losers want to usher in a non-speculative régime which shall be dated back for a generation or two, but with respect to losses only. The winners also want a non-speculative régime,

but they do not want it dated back far enough to make them disgorge past profits to make up for impending deficits.

The present status of the street railways is unsatisfactory to all parties. The sky is full of portents for the future. Disaster to the present investors is imminent and perhaps can be averted only in case the public either unwittingly or from a mistaken sense of duty condemns itself to financial servitude time without end.

The general outlines of the situation are fairly distinct. They may be summarized as follows:

#### PERSISTENT EVILS OF OVERCAPITALIZATION

(1) Unsound and reckless financing has been characteristic of the street railway business. Overcapitalization is general and the all but universal tendency of the companies is to swell the capital account at every opportunity. Appropriations for the amortization of obsolete and superseded property have been either scant or entirely lacking. For some years past the companies have sought by every possible device to read values into the properties in an effort to justify and support existing overcapitalization instead of reducing the capitalization to fit the values that really exist. Even the control over capitalization exercised by public service commissions has been quite ineffective as a remedy for past evils and only partially effective as a preventive of future ones. The commissions as a rule have no power to compel a reduction of existing capitalization and the new securities issued under public control are thus put upon a par with old securities which represent uncertain values. Even in the issuance of new securities inflation continues to take place through the practice of the commissions in permitting stocks and bonds to be sold at a discount. The financial conditions which often seem to make this practice a necessary one have been brought about in large part by the uncorrected overcapitalization which took place prior to the period of public regulation. It is a universal characteristic of overcapitalization that it tends to destroy or impair the credit of the corporation and thus tends to make the financing of capital additions costly, if not impossible. From every point of view overcapitalization is fundamentally unsound. The only way to cure it is to get rid of it. It is hopeless for a company to try to live it down without correcting it. A remedy that merely applies to future capital additions is no remedy at all. So long as overcapitalization lasts it impairs credit, overloads fixed charges and stimulates controversy between the company and the public. So long as overcapitalization exists every street railway manager has to be double-faced. To the public he must make professions of interest in service. To his financial masters he must prove that his one aim in life is to make the common stock pay dividends.

## INCREASED COSTS OF SERVICE

(2) The street railway business underwent an enormous expansion following the introduction of electricity as a motive power. It was thought that electrical operation would result in such a lowering of the cost of transportation service as to make almost any kind of a street railway profitable. Lines were consolidated, systems extended and service improved. The effects of this expansion were already being felt when the enormous increase in the cost of labor and materials during the war period struck the industry a paralyzing blow. It may be said that the last saw-log that broke the camel's back was the action taken by the War Labor Board in awarding to street railway employes wages that seemed fabulous in this industry and that were in many cases more than the men had asked for. To "the man on the street" the cost of operating street cars has seemed nominal, but even he is beginning to realize that the companies are being hard hit by war conditions. It is, of course, uncertain as to how long existing prices will prevail, but any substantial decrease in wages in the future to correspond with a general lowering of the price level is likely to be a slow and painful operation. The unionization of street railway employes has been going forward rapidly and it is not likely that they will accept radical reductions in pay without a fight. Every strike means at least a temporary disaster to the company and for that reason every company will be slow to force the issue of lower wages even if general labor conditions seem to warrant a reduction.

## MORE REVENUES THE INSISTENT DEMAND

(3) Excessive fixed charges due to overcapitalization and increased operating costs in the present emergency together have eaten up the companies' revenues and left the stockholders exceedingly hungry. Certain economies have been attempted but in most cases their effect is quite insignificant as compared with the increase in expenses. Moreover, some of these economies, such as the skip-stop and the reduction in car schedules, tend to decrease the service to the public and indirectly to reduce traffic and revenues. One-man car operation, which is one of the most promising economies on the program, cannot be effected without considerable delay and the expenditure of considerable sums of money for new or remodeled cars; and the new capital that would thus result in the reduction of expenses cannot readily be had. To ask the street railway companies under present conditions to economize first, and to seek additional revenues later on if necessary, is much like the wholesome practice of compelling a tramp to saw wood before he is given a breakfast. That is all right if he had a good supper the day before, but if he has gone hungry for a week the strict application of the rule may prove to be both cruel and ineffective. At any rate the companies are in a state of mind where they demand more revenues and insist that they must have them at once or stop functioning.

## THE ABROGATION OF FRANCHISE CONTRACTS

(4) Street railways get the bulk of their revenues from fare-paying passengers. If the rate of fare is fixed and unchangeable the only way to increase the revenues from this source is by an increase in traffic. If the cars are already overcrowded or if the people are moving to other communities, the companies see little hope in this direction. For the immediate relief of their financial pains they see no better way than the abrogation of their franchise contracts and the increase of the rates of fare. It has often been charged that contracts between cities and street railway companies are enforced to the letter when their terms go against the public, but that it proves very difficult indeed to enforce them when they go against the companies. At any rate it is a curious spectacle to see the protagonists of vested interests, who have so often invoked the sacred provisions of the federal constitution to enforce the obligations of contracts, now coming before the public service commissions and without even an apology asking that the provisions of their municipal contracts be set aside because they need more money.

An extraordinary development of law and public policy is resulting from these conditions. In some states franchise contracts have been expressly exempted from the control of the commissions, but in general it may be said that where full-fledged public utility laws have been placed upon the statute books, the courts are holding that the commissions have rate-regulating powers superior to the provisions of municipal contracts. The theory is a simple one. The first premise is that the state legislature is supreme and that municipalities have no rights or powers which have not been derived from it or which may not be withdrawn by it. The second premise is that the state, in the exercise of its supreme authority, subsequent to the granting of powers to municipalities, has chosen to exercise certain of them itself. It is as if a man were to delegate his son to carry on a certain portion of his business and to authorize him to enter into contracts for the purchase of supplies or for the construction of a new building. The son proceeds to make terms with a contractor. Subsequently, the contractor finds that his contract is unprofitable and desires to be released from certain of its obligations. Instead of going to the son and securing his consent to a modification of the contract, the contractor approaches the "old man" and submits evidence to show that the contract is onerous. Thereupon the father, without consulting the son or securing his consent, exercises his own superior authority and modifies the contract for the benefit of the other party. It is admitted that the father could not modify the contract for the benefit of the son without the contractor's consent, but it is maintained that if he wishes to sacrifice his own interests as represented by his son he may do so, so long as the contractor is willing to modify the agreement. The son is nobody.

This theory as applied to the relations between the legislature and the

municipalities with respect to the modification of franchise contracts leaves the municipalities without ultimate authority and makes it impossible for them to enter into contracts with public service corporations with any assurance that the contracts can be enforced. The cities do not take kindly to the abstract theory of the law that they have no rights which may not be sacrificed by the legislature without their consent, and the whole purpose of the municipal home rule movement during the past forty years has been to overcome or circumvent this theory. The situation is developing, however, so that in many states constitutional home rule provisions have become ineffective with respect to this particular matter. The importance of this development upon the power of municipalities to deal with the street railway problem in an effective and constructive way can hardly be overestimated.

#### COMPETITION IN A NEW FORM

(5) It is a particularly interesting development that now, just as we have come to give legal recognition to the theory of monopoly in public utility service, the practical conditions of monopoly which formerly surrounded the street railway business have been considerably modified. Street railways unquestionably render a necessary service to urban communities. It is also unquestionable that they can be operated more economically and can render better service to the public if the business is handled by a single agency in each separate urban community, but the development of private automobiles and of jitney busses has been so great in recent years as to make serious inroads upon the traffic on which the street railways must depend for their financial support. In other words, just as monopoly has received legal recognition, effective competition has been re-established by a different type of vehicle. The effect of automobile and jitney competition upon the present financial condition of the street railways and upon their financial prospects for the future is profound and, even from the public point of view, alarming.

#### REVERSAL OF POLICY AS TO DEVELOPMENT OF TRAFFIC

(6) With expenses increased, traffic curtailed by competition and increased revenues sought through increases in rates of fare, a crucial test is being applied to the street railway industry. If the unit fare is raised from five cents to six cents, this should produce a 20 per cent increase in revenues; if it is raised to seven cents, we should get a 40 per cent increase in revenues; and if raised to eight cents, a 60 per cent increase in revenues. This is on the assumption that the same number of passengers would ride, but the experiments have been made and it has been found that an increase in the rate of fare tends to reduce traffic. Street railway service is indeed a necessity to every large city, but there is a considerable margin of use of street railway service in ordinary times which is not a necessary use

but merely a convenience. The tendency of the increased fares is to reduce this convenience traffic, which, obviously, is for the most part the short haul traffic, and this is admitted to be the portion of the traffic that is most profitable to the companies. We have, therefore, in the straight increases of fare which have already been allowed to many street railways, and which many others are clamoring for, a tendency of profound importance, both from the point of view of the financial interests of the street railway business and also from the point of view of the social importance of the street railway service.

Hitherto it has been recognized as a most important element in enlightened street railway policy to adopt all available means for the development and increase of traffic. All progressive companies have looked upon such an increase as beneficial to them, and all public authorities, except the late Mayor Gaynor of New York, have regarded the increase in the riding habit as a normal and healthful concomitant of urban civilization. Now under the stress of financial need the companies have been adopting measures which in fact tend to drive traffic away and to eliminate that portion of it which cannot be regarded as an absolute necessity. We can understand how in time of war when economies of man-power, fuel and equipment are urged upon everybody, an appeal to the public to use the street cars as little as possible might have some basis in sound reason and good public policy. The same may be true in times like these when a plague is in the land and crowded street cars are supposed to be a prolific means of spreading the contagion, but from the companies' point of view a curtailment of the use of the street cars, whether voluntary or involuntary, means a radical change in the financial outlook of the business, and from the public point of view it means a change in its conception of the social value of street railway service. The question is: Do we ride too much? Was Mayor Gaynor right when he sent his cynical reply to the man who complained that the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company did not heat its cars? The mayor told the man that his proper remedy was to walk, as he did; in that way he could keep warm without any trouble.

As the matter now stands, the straight increase in fares is tending to transform the character of the street railway business from that of a public utility, intended to meet public convenience and give the widest possible public service, to that of a business occupying the streets for the use of a limited portion of the population whose necessity balks at no increase in cost or whose financial ability is unaffected by so insignificant a matter as street railway fares. The situation presents a complex combination of sociological, psychological and economic factors that is putting the intelligence of street railway managers visibly under strain.

## THE ZONE SYSTEM BEING INTRODUCED AS A MEANS FOR INCREASING REVENUES

(7) Up to this time the one-city-one-fare policy has been characteristic of American street railway development. We have all supposed for a generation that this policy was based upon profound considerations of urban development. Specifically, we have thought that it was responsible for the development of the suburbs and the avoidance of congestion. New York city recently pledged some \$250,000,000 to guarantee the profitableness to the rapid transit companies of a uniform five-cent fare with long rides. But within the last year since the street railway companies have felt the real pinch of poverty and have made a radical increase in revenues the dominating feature of their program, we are seeing the zone system introduced in various forms in many American communities without any real reconsideration of the reasons which we have always supposed were at the basis of our established American policy. Under cover of the Great War, when people are thinking chiefly of events in Europe, it appears that a long-established custom based upon a well-defined public policy is being overthrown, and a new custom hitherto rejected is being substituted for it merely as an incident to the insistent demand of the street railway companies for more revenue, regardless of the consequences.

It may be that the one-city-one-fare policy as hitherto applied in this country is a false and losing policy. It may be that a zone system will be worked out which is entirely consistent with the best ideals of city planning and the social development of urban communities, but if this is so it ought to be determined as the result of a careful investigation and reconsideration of all the factors from the public point of view. The change certainly ought not to be made over night merely as a device for extracting from an unwilling public a larger compensation for the service rendered by street railway companies.

## STRIKES AND CIVIC DISORDER AHEAD UNLESS EFFECTIVE MEASURES ARE TAKEN

(8) A street railway strike has usually been a signal for disorder and a reversion to a state of semi-barbarism in the midst of the centers of civilization. That continuity of street railway service should be left to the mercy of contending economic forces, without any public authority to compel peace and performance of functions, has long been recognized as anomalous and dangerous to society. Two years ago attention was sharply directed to the necessity for legislation to prevent strikes among public utility employes and considerable progress was made in the discussion and formulation of plans to that end. When America entered the war, it became a matter of paramount national importance that labor troubles should be minimized and the interruption of vital public serv-

ices prevented. The War Labor Board was established. It has now been functioning for several months with notable success so far as the settlement of strikes is concerned, but as already noted its awards have greatly accentuated the financial problems of the street railways. Moreover, these awards have raised issues of public policy which were quite beyond the scope of the War Labor Board to settle. We are now face to face with the alternative of providing permanent and effective public machinery for adjusting street railway wages and conditions of work or of risking an era of profound civic dangers due to an unprecedented breakdown of urban transportation service by reason of industrial conflict.

#### SYSTEMS THAT HAVE GROWN BEYOND MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

(9) The enormous difficulty of properly controlling private companies in the operation of street railways has been borne in upon the American public for a generation past, and it must be said that the elaborate and costly experiments which we have made in commission regulation have not convinced the public that the problem has been solved. To these long-recognized difficulties have now been added the financial difficulties of the business from the point of view of the companies themselves. At a time when the logic of events tends more strongly than ever before to public ownership and operation, we are compelled to consider certain practical difficulties which have grown up as an incident of the development of the street railway business under private control. I refer to the expansion of individual street railway systems beyond the limits of the principal municipalities which they serve, so that at the present time comparatively few large street railway systems are operated independently in single urban units.

We still talk of *municipal* ownership and operation, but the fact that the Public Service Railway Company of New Jersey extends its service to no less than 140 municipalities, and that many companies in New England, Pennsylvania and other portions of the country have similarly expanded their systems, presents very serious difficulties indeed to the practical application of the municipal ownership policy. In many cases the consolidation of companies operating in widely separated cities has gone far beyond the requirements of public service. A separation of these systems into several units under municipal ownership and operation would not be seriously disadvantageous to the public. Yet it must be said that in communities where municipal boundaries have not been consistently expanded to keep pace with urban development, there are many cases where it would be fatal to the efficiency of the street railway service to cut it in two at existing municipal boundary lines. No doubt a plan could be worked out by which the principal municipality in a group served by a single street railway system could become the successor of the company for the ownership and operation or at least for the operation of the

street railway service both within and without its own corporate limits, but this necessity presents another hurdle for the municipal ownership movement to take. A still more serious difficulty would be met in an effort financially to unscramble the overgrown street railway systems which, for purposes of municipal ownership and operation, should be restored to their original condition of separateness. It must be admitted that many of these systems, as they are now constituted, are about as incongruous as the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but in most cases the street railway Hapsburgs live in Philadelphia or New York. If we are to judge from this analogy, the process of unscrambling the systems will be long and tedious. It is often the despair of intelligent municipal effort that the control of the street railway property has been so enmeshed in a series of complex and more or less secret feudal obligations to absentee overlords as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to reach the parties who have power to enter into a new agreement with the city based upon modern principles.

#### PUBLIC OPERATION WITHOUT PURCHASE

(10) Under conditions that prevailed before the war a good many people who favored municipal ownership were opposed to municipal operation. We then had three distinct policies under discussion, namely, (a) private ownership and operation, (b) municipal ownership and private operation and (c) municipal ownership and operation. The conditions arising out of the war and the precedents established by the federal government in connection with the steam railroads and the telegraph and telephone lines, have brought another possible policy prominently into view, namely, (d) private ownership and public operation. This policy has already been adopted in the Boston case, and the financial difficulties in the way of immediate purchase of the street railway lines of the country, coupled with urgency for financial relief of the companies, are likely to bring very substantial support to this policy during the impending reconstruction period. The advantages of retaining unitary operation of large systems which are partly interurban are directing attention to the possibility of state rather than municipal operation. It may be safely assumed that the states are less keenly interested in ownership as such than the municipalities would be. Therefore, we have to consider a set of problems that are new and that are radically different from the problems previously considered in connection with urban transit.

In view of all these conditions, what is to be done with the street railways?

#### THE SPECULATIVE ELEMENT MUST BE REMOVED

In the first place, it is agreed that the speculative element in street railway investments must be removed and that the public must get the benefit and bear the burden of service at cost. The simple and obvious means

of attaining these ends is public ownership and operation, or public operation with private ownership. But besides the difficulties inherent in public operation, which are still terrifying to the majority of people who are in a position to formulate public policies and put them into practical effect, there is the immense difficulty in settling the dispute as to the value of the property for the purposes of the change. Whether the public buys the property outright or merely guarantees an annual return upon its value, it cannot afford to recognize an investment that is grossly excessive. The street railway business is not what it once was. Since the advent of the myriads of automobiles, a city can get along for a few days in a lame sort of way even when the street cars stop entirely. It is still to be expected that in normal times in well developed urban communities the street railway business can be made to be self-sustaining. But the future is far from rosy. Increases in unit fares and shortened fare zones have a tendency to defeat their own immediate purpose and to stimulate competition to make further inroads upon traffic. This forecasts a radical change in the nature of the street railway as a public utility and in the character of the service it renders. The financial results of such a change are extremely dubious. It is apparent that neither under private nor under public management can there be any hopeful future for profit in the urban transit business unless on the basis of the most conservative capitalization. There is absolutely no hope that the mules which were pulling street cars in 1879 and the cables that were scrapped in 1892 will be able to continue indefinitely to earn dividends in the street railway business. They have been outflanked. They should have retired long ago. It looks now like unconditional surrender for them. The only possible salvation of the street railway business as a business lies in the cutting down of capital investments to bed rock value as a first step. The celebrated halo of intangible value caused by the wearing down of new property will have to be blown away and forgotten. The engineers' dreams of overhead percentages designed to make up for deficiencies in the value of visible property will have to be dissipated. Bond discounts reflecting unsound financial arrangements, promoters' profits for securing unprofitable franchises and promoting disastrous consolidations, and many another wraith of the corporation conjurers hired to find values where they do not exist will have to be motioned away when the capital account is being fixed. Perpetual rentals based on franchise values will have to be cut off. I believe that by the use of drastic remedies such as these and by the institution of economies such as one-man car operation, the street railway business may be brought back in normal times to a self-sustaining basis in most large urban communities. But where subways are built in congested streets or suburban lines are extended through the open fields, the net earning power of the business, if proper service is given, will be doubtful even under the best conditions.

## SERVICE MUST BE RENDERED AT COST

In the second place, it is pretty well agreed that, with the removal of the speculative element, street railway service must be rendered at cost. Of course, it is understood that the term "cost" includes the necessary return upon a secured investment and the necessary compensation for competent management. The cost, whatever it is, will have to be paid either by the patrons of the cars or by the general public. As applied to an individual street railway enterprise, this is a corollary of the conclusion that the speculative element shall be removed. As applied to the street railway business generally, it is only another version of the well-known axiom that you cannot eat your cake and still have it to eat. It is the universal law of compensation that the cost of every service must be paid.

## WAGES AND CONDITIONS OF LABOR TO BE FIXED AND STRIKES TO BE OUTLAWED.

In the third place, the responsibility for fixing wages and conditions of labor cannot be left as in the old days to the discretion of the employing companies. There is still considerable difference of opinion as to the most feasible solution of this problem. Labor hesitates to give up the right to strike even in services where continuity is essential to the public welfare. But it is intolerable that the public should have no guaranty of service pending the adjustment of labor disputes. In my opinion, the power to fix wages and working conditions will have to be conferred upon the same public bodies which are vested with power to fix rates, and that strikes on street railways will have to be outlawed. This policy involves the participation of public authority in a much more intimate and vital way in the management of the business of urban transportation, and greatly narrows the margin of difference between public control and public operation, but democracy cannot shrink from bearing the essential burdens of governmental responsibility. It has applied for the job of running the public affairs of the world. It must fit itself for the task and take hold.

## FIXED FARE AND SUBSIDIES, OR A FLEXIBLE FARE—WHICH?

This brings us to the fourth fundamental question of policy, as to which no clear answer can yet be given. It is this: Shall street car fares be maintained at a fixed low figure, regardless of the cost of service, any deficits being made up out of taxes, or shall fares be flexible and be so adjusted as to place upon the riders the full burden of the cost of service at all times? We used to ask the question: Shall the street railways be operated for profit? That is now obsolete, and we have to deal with the obverse question: Shall street railways be operated at a loss? The issue is fundamentally the same whether we continue private ownership and operation or change to public ownership and operation. If we retain private ownership with a guaranty of an excessive capital value, or if we

go to public ownership by paying an excessive price, the chances of financial failure are excellent, no matter what rates of fare may be charged. That will break off one horn of the dilemma and leave us with no alternative but to adopt the subsidy plan. But with a conservative capitalization and prudent management, we may hope, in most cases, to be permitted to answer the question on its merits. This is a fundamental question of municipal policy and may give rise to sharp differences of opinion. The one-city-one-fare rule which has prevailed so generally in the United States up to very recent times is generally coupled with the idea that transit should be cheap as well as of uniform price. It has become clear through the experience of metropolitan cities that the area of the uniform fare cannot be indefinitely extended, if the fare is to be kept low and the transit system is at the same time to be self-sustaining. New York city, after having been plagued for more than half a century with intolerable congestion of population, thought it well within the last few years to contribute an enormous sum of money for the express purpose of insuring to its citizens a uniform low rate of fare over a very extended area. Under the dual subway contracts, the city defers receiving any return upon its own investment until all operating expenses and a fixed return upon the capital of the operating companies have been paid. Any deficits are to be made up out of taxes. In other words, New York thought the uniform five-cent fare to be of sufficient social importance to vote it an immense subsidy. On the other hand, in the recent legislation adopted by the state of Massachusetts establishing a board of trustees for the public operation of the Boston Elevated Railway system, it was expressly provided that the trustees should increase the fares to any amount which might be necessary to make the enterprise self-sustaining on the financial basis set forth in the act. It is not yet certain that the board of trustees will be able to fix fares in such a way as to make the system self-sustaining, notwithstanding the requirements of the statute. But at any rate Massachusetts adopted the policy of making the Boston system self-sustaining under all conditions.

#### "HORIZONTAL ELEVATOR" SERVICE

The difference between this policy and the one adopted by New York in the dual subway contracts is radical. For my own part, I am inclined to the view that local transit will be recognized more and more as a public function for the general convenience of the people, and that the New York idea rather than the Boston idea will prevail. I am aware that at the present time the trend is toward the adoption of the service-at-cost plan with a fluctuating rate of fare. This is evidenced by the Cleveland street railway settlement of 1910, the new Montreal tramways contract of 1918 and the traction ordinances recently passed by the city councils of Philadelphia and Chicago, as well as by the action taken by the regu-

lating authorities in many parts of the country authorizing an increase in street railway fares above the traditional five cents. In my opinion, however, this present tendency will cause a reaction as soon as general conditions become normal again after the close of the war. The resentment against the higher fares and the curtailment of traffic will together tend to bring about a restoration of a low unit fare which in the case of the great cities will be guaranteed by potential subsidies from taxation. I am even inclined to expect that ultimately street railway service in many cities may be treated as what might be called a horizontal elevator service. No owner of an office building would think of charging a fare on the elevators used in ordinary business service. It is only on the special elevators which carry people to the roof for observation purposes that a fare is charged. It is quite possible that in the future the city will regard general convenience of movement within its limits as of sufficient importance to provide transit service free or at a nominal rate. One might think that free transit service would lead to excessive use and thus prove to be an expensive luxury. It is a matter of common observation that the human race is largely made up of persons who enjoy motion for motion's sake. Many prefer jitneys to street cars, apparently because the jitney is an automobile and furnishes the exhilaration of what is still a comparatively novel kind of motion. The habit of riding in the street cars for pleasure has been pretty well broken and there is little likelihood that even if street car service were free on the normal routes of travel in the business districts and between home and work the volume of traffic would be in the long run excessive. Street car motion is no longer so attractive as it once was, as other and newer kinds of motion and excitement are now available.

#### CONTROL MORE DIFFICULT THAN OPERATION

We come, lastly, to the question of ownership and operation. It is apparent that we have long since crossed the Rubicon. Street railway service is a public function. The only question left is this: Shall the municipalities or other public bodies perform this function directly, or shall they contract it out to private agencies? In the future, city planning in the broad sense of the term, the development of municipal democracy and the dictates of public policy, rather than the desire for profit, must control. Even if private ownership and operation of transit lines is continued, the problem will be to make private ownership and operation act as if it were public ownership and operation. The fundamental motive that normally actuates private ownership and operation is irreconcilable with the motive that dictates public policy. Both cannot prevail. One must be held in check while the other controls the enterprise. If the return upon private capital is guaranteed and is limited to a fixed annual percentage, then we deprive the business of the alleged benefit of private

incentive for economy and efficiency and these virtues of management will in the long run be developed only through the substitution of minute public control for the normal incentive of profit. It is to be noted, however, that from the public point of view economy is not necessarily advantageous when it interferes with service. In general the public may be more interested in having good service than in having economy of operation where that represents a curtailment of service as to either quantity or quality. Likewise, the public's interest in efficiency is likely to be more from the point of view of service than from the point of view of low cost. Economy and efficiency, therefore, are of unquestioned importance to the public only to the extent that they do not interfere with the desired quantity and quality of service, while from the point of view of a private company economy and efficiency are of importance to the extent that they do not interfere with revenues. The Montreal tramways contract represents what is perhaps the most serious effort thus far made to enlist the co-operation of a private company in the provision of service upon the same basis as if it were actuated by public motives. It is an experiment the outcome of which will be watched with great interest. I cannot escape the conviction, however, that any scheme of public regulation and control which adequately protects the public interest will require greater wisdom and more persistent watchfulness than would be required by direct public ownership and operation. It seems to me that it is easier politically and in every other way for the cities to perform the service which they require than it is for them to compel or induce private parties to perform it when those private parties are necessarily actuated by motives in conflict with the fundamental motive of the public service. Our experience with public service commissions during the past eleven years has not clearly demonstrated their ability to cope with the problems presented to them in any better fashion than cities which own and operate their utilities have coped and are coping with the problems of public utility administration. I do not mean that municipal administration of public utilities has been an unqualified success in this country; on the other hand, I see that its faults are many and grievous ones. But inherently, it seems to me, the problems of direct ownership and operation are much less subtle and baffling than the problems of adequate public control under private management.

#### TIME FOR "LIBERALITY" IS PAST

To sum up the situation, I would say that private speculation in urban transit is generally recognized to be out of date; that the simple and direct way of eliminating speculation is through public ownership and operation; that a less direct and more difficult way is through the negotiation of service-at-cost contracts with the private companies, and that in any case the most difficult and the most fundamental problem to be solved

now is the determination of the amount to be recognized as the legitimate capital value of the street railway system at the date when the transformation from a speculative to a non-speculative investment is made. In this matter it is absolutely essential from every point of view that a policy of conservatism shall be adopted. People often say that "we can afford to be liberal" in order to get the question settled. The time when cities could afford to be liberal in the establishment of the capital value of street railway systems has passed. No mummies in the pyramids of street railway overcapitalization are old enough to defy the disintegrating influences of the new financial atmosphere. Liberality is from now on a false watchword. Cities cannot afford to go beyond the dictates of justice, and the sooner this condition is recognized by everybody the more rapid will be our progress toward a solution of the immensely difficult financial problems of urban transit with which we are now confronted. The attitude of municipal liberality, which seems so praiseworthy to many, is at the very basis of the looseness and inefficiency which is charged against municipal operations. Often the very men who insist most strongly that cities should be liberal in settling with the public utility companies, are loudest in their condemnation of municipalities for not being efficient and businesslike in the management of public enterprises.

We are now entering upon a critical era. Our cities face unmeasured future responsibilities. We must set our house in order for eventualities that may come quickly. It behooves every well-wisher of civic democracy to do all in his power to develop intelligence, consistent purpose, justice, absolute candor and administrative courage in the management of public utility enterprises which have already been municipalized; and to secure the adoption of wise and adequate measures to facilitate the acquisition and operation of the street railways of the country under legal, financial and administrative conditions conducive to success in public operation, with or without public ownership.

## WHAT WILL BECOME OF THE GOVERNMENT HOUSING?

BY RICHARD S. CHILDS  
*New York City*

AT THE end of the war Uncle Sam has on his hands a dozen wooden cities ranging in population from 1,500 to 30,000. These are the temporary towns erected in remote wilderness locations for the employes of explosives plants. These towns in most cases are being promptly depopulated, the plants dismantled and the houses and dormitories taken apart and sold for use in other locations.

The completed, permanent villages have been constructed only in those places where there is reasonable certainty of a market for the houses after

the war, subject merely to writing off the element of excessive cost due to the war conditions under which they were built as compared with the post-war costs with which these dwellings must hereafter compete. Thus Uncle Sam has 30 permanent villages on his hands to-day, and as he is not to be landlord indefinitely, some plan must be found for disposing of them.

The properties divide themselves into two classes. 1. Those which are so small relatively to the adjoining cities or so scattered in small groups throughout the city that they are not separable from ordinary private property. Call them "building projects." 2. Those which are separate villages of such size and isolation as to constitute natural and complete social units. Call them "town projects."

The first class ought to be sold in such manner as expediency in the individual instances may dictate. In some cases they can be sold as groups of houses to real estate operators or employers. In other cases they can be sold to individual workmen on appropriate terms with the assistance of local banks or employers.

The second class give an opportunity such as may never come again for a trial in this country of the principle of group ownership of housing along the lines of the co-partnership arrangements which are at the basis of the famous English garden suburbs.

At present these towns are the fresh and completed products of famous architects and town planners, unspoiled by the invasion of reckless or ignorant individualism. Each building has been constructed with due regard to the value of its neighbor and in harmony with the town plan. The grocery store does not obtrude itself on a residential corner nor confront the neighboring cottages with a bare blank brick side wall with a gaudy soap advertisement upon it. The newest house is designed by an architect who had responsibility for what the whole street looked like. The individual occupant cannot spoil his property and that of his neighbors by painting his house a sky-blue-pink or putting a dirty garage on his front lawn or surrounding his back yard with a 10-foot board fence. By yielding to common control of the use of the property, workmen attain the advantages of a harmonious, well-kept, parklike environment. The principle is the same as that of the restrictions under which high grade suburban lots are sold, whereby the mutual surrender of certain so-called liberties secures increased values to all participants and freedom from the erection of eyesores by the neighbors.

All these physical advantages may be obtained if these towns are purchased by the employer, who, indeed, already is operating most of them.

The moral advantages of private home ownership are wanting, however, and it is not fortunate to have the employer be also the landlord as a general thing, although it has not mattered much during the war when labor occupied so powerful a strategic position that it could safely concede the employer such advantages.

The ideal solution, retaining unity of the town without paternalism or loss of the sense of ownership is to sell these towns intact to the residents to be held in trust for them and by them as a communal property.

Erect a local incorporated association of the tenants in which each householder shall have a vote. Levy an amortization charge in the rents to retire the principal (as reduced by elimination of the war-cost) as rapidly as may be feasible. When enough has been retired to establish a satisfactory equity, obtain a private mortgage or a mortgage bond issue to retire the balance of the principal, ownership then to vest in the Tenants' Association under a deed of trust which keeps the property a unit, prohibits sales of houses or lots and prohibits private profit. All revenues will then be redistributed among the tenants in the form of services. Either rents will be abnormally low or the town's income will be abnormally high, for the unearned increment of land value has thus become a community possession and its annual value is clear gain to the people.

In other words, by this plan, Uncle Sam, having assembled the parcel of land economically through his power of condemnation, having avoided the costs of dealing with real estate speculators and having proceeded to populate it with a success and completeness which might well make the ordinary suburban real estate man green with envy, now says to the tenants, "I don't propose to let the real estate speculators get in here to run up rents and reduce service. You who live in these houses can have the property as a joint possession for what it has cost me, special war-cost excepted. I want no profit, simply my principal with interest. I merely want assurance that the inhabitants shall get the benefit of the unusual situation and that the property shall not become a subject for private real estate manipulation and exploitation of the tenants."

How practical this plan may be can only be determined after wages and building values find their level and the local industries strike their peace-time gait.

It is necessary, however, that nothing be done now that will prejudice the prospective opportunity of trying out in America a social experiment of such far-reaching and fascinating possibilities.

## THE GOVERNMENT'S PRINCIPAL PERMANENT HOUSING PROJECTS

### EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION VILLAGES

*Abbreviations*—ds., dwellings; apt., apartment; sch., school; dorm., dormitory; bdg.-h., boarding house; bldg., building.

		Architects
Bath, Maine	90 ds., 6 dorms. for 288, mess-hall.	R. Clipston Sturgis, Boston.
Bristol, Pa.	42 bach. qtrs. for 840, 14 bdg.-hs. for 840, 20 apts. for 250, 258 ds., 1 sch.	Carroll H. Pratt, New York City.
Camden, N. J.	2,107 ds.	Electus D. Litchfield, New York City.

		Architects
Chester, Pa.	227 ds., 1 bdg.-h. for 25, 23 apts. for 319, 1 hotel.	Simon & Bassett and C. E. Brumbaugh, Philadelphia.
Chester, Pa.	548 ds.	Ernest Flagg, New York City.
Essington, Pa.	200 ds., 1 apt.	C. W. Braser, New York City.
Gloucester, N. J.	500 ds.	Bissell & Sinkler, Philadelphia.
Jacksonville, Fla.	165 ds., 3 bdg.-hs. for 86.	H. T. Klutho.
Lorain, Ohio.	244 ds., 2 apts., 1 sch.	Abram Garfield, Cleveland.
Manitowoc, Wis.	100 ds., 1 dorm. for 300.	Earl Franklin Miller, Manitowoc.
Newport News, Va.	500 ds., 4 apts. for 372.	F. Y. Joannes, New York City.
Pensacola, Fla.	200 ds.	
Philadelphia.	960 ds., 16 dorms. for 800.	Geo. M. Bartlett, New York City.
Portsmouth, N. H.	300 ds., 8 dorms. for 400, 1 sch.	Kilham & Hopkins, Boston.
Port Jefferson, N. Y.	9 ds., 1 dorm. for 400.	A. C. Bossom, New York City.
Savannah, Ga.	230 ds., 1 hotel for 180, bdg.-hs. for 255.	
Sparrows Point, Md.	827 ds., sch., stores, etc.	E. L. Palmer, Jr., Baltimore.
Vancouver, Wash.	100 ds. and hotel.	
Wilmington, Del.	506 ds., 3 apts. for 51, community bldg., sch.	Ballinger & Perrot, Philadelphia.
Wyandotte Mich.	200 ds.	
Groton, Conn.		
Newburgh, N. Y.		
Seattle, Wash.		
Tacoma, Wash.		

## WAR DEPARTMENT VILLAGES

Perryville, Ind.	160 ds., 3 bdg.-hs., club, stores	Mann & MacNeill, New York City.
Musele Shoals, Ala.	1300 ds., sch., stores	

## DEPARTMENT OF LABOR (U. S. HOUSING CORPORATION) VILLAGES

Aberdeen, Md.	5 convertible houses for 60, 40 ds.	Sill, Buckler & Fenhagen, Baltimore.
Alliance, Ohio.	129 ds. (2 sites).	Walker & Weeks, Cleveland.
Bath, Maine.	45 ds. and alterations, for 90 families.	Parker, Thomas & Rice, Boston.
Bethlehem, Pa.	647 ds., apts. for 92, 25 stores, 5 offices, 1 theatre.	Zantzinger, Borie & Medary, Philadelphia.
Bridgeport, Conn.	360 ds., 50 apts.	R. Clipston Sturgis, Boston.
Charleston, W. Va.	85 ds.	Godley, Haskell & Sedgwick, New York City.
Davenport, Iowa.	396 ds.	Temple & Burrows, Davenport.
Erie, Pa.	552 ds., apts. for 38, 12 stores.	A. H. Spahr, Pittsburgh.
Hammond, Ind.	163 ds., 11 bdg.-hs.	J. C. Llewellyn, Chicago.
Indian Head, Md.	45 ds., 3 dorms. for 99, sch., cafe.	Donn & Deming, Washington, D. C.
Mare Island, Cal.	87 ds., 30 apts., 10 dorms., mess-hall, stores, recreation-hall, sch.	Geo. W. Kelham, San Francisco, Cal.
New Brunswick, N. J.	192 ds.	Trowbridge & Livingston, New York City.
Newcastle, Del.	30 ds., dorms. for 514.	Chas. C. May, New York City.
New London, Conn.	134 ds.	Hoppin & Koen, New York City.
Newport, R. I.	58 ds.	Clarke & Howe, Providence, R. I.
Niagara Falls, N. Y.	194 ds.	Dean & Dean, Chicago.
Niles, Ohio.	75 ds.	Geo. H. Schwan, Pittsburgh.
Norfolk & Portsmouth, Va.	1,379 ds.	Geo. B. Post & Son, New York City.
Philadelphia Navy Yard	576 ds.	Rankin, Kellogg & Crane, Philadelphia.
Puget Sound, Wash.	250 ds., 3 apts., 1 hotel.	A. H. Albertson, Seattle.

		Architects
Quincy, Mass.	400 ds., dorms. for 960.	J. E. McLoughlin, Boston.
Rock Island, Moline and East Moline, Ill.	460 ds.	Cervin & Horn, Rock Island.
Washington Navy Yard.	224 ds.	Ray & Waggaman, Washington.
Washington Navy Yard.	apts. for 252.	York & Sawyer, New York City.
Waterbury, Conn.	94 ds.	Murphy & Dana, New York City.
Watertown, N. Y.	111 ds., dorms. for 750	Davis, McGrath & Kiessling, New York City.

## THE PRESENT AND FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF WAR COMMUNITIES

ERNEST CAWCROFT<sup>1</sup>

Jamesstown, N. Y.

THE forefathers gathered in the cabin of the *Mayflower* to formulate and sign a compact, which became a chart of government for the freemen of North America. They planned their type of government before they established their community life on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. In the planning and establishment of that community life and government, they were at liberty to apply pure principle to the matter in hand, and they were not required to modify their conception of government to conform to existing right or vested wrong. They were privileged, therefore, to build their community life to fit into their ideals of government.

The exigencies of war compelled the United States to face the problem of war-created communities from just the opposite direction. In the reverse order, the war communities are finished, or are nearing completion. Systems of government must now be provided for these communities. While the forefathers fitted the structure of community life into their concept or principle of government, those charged with the development of war communities must aim to provide, or at least induce, systems of governments as modern as the type of construction. This means that eighteenth century ideas of community government should not in principle be applied to the twentieth century war city. The town planner is the social engineer of the immediate future, and he has enjoyed his first opportunity in the creation of these war communities, to show to large centers of population, that right group, or community, conditions may be impelled by deliberate city planning. Likewise the architect has been given his opportunity to be as much a factor in assuring wholesome housing for the humblest worker as the humanitarian or legislator. But the problem of creating war communities is not solved when the town planner

<sup>1</sup> Municipal Adviser to Emergency Fleet Corporation.

and the architect, certify that the public utilities and the houses, are completed. It is at this moment that the questions of political control and business administration become vital. Have we a right to expect that these twentieth century communities shall be governed by twentieth century systems? Are we going to permit an eighteenth century politician to undo the work of the town planner? Will it be possible to induce the inhabitants of the war communities to sustain a political administration as modern and efficient as the type of community construction? Are we justified in hoping that the modern war community will raise the political, sanitary and general economic level of the city in which it is located, or of which it becomes a part by annexation? And conversely but equally important, is not the adjacent or annexed war community entitled to the thinking attention and continuing interest of the labor, church and commercial bodies of the nearby city? Will not each make it worth while by learning from the other? May not the democratic forces of the nearby city be used to give political stability and social cohesion to the war community, while the architecture and civic foresight of the latter stand as an ideal and point the way to better housing and industrial conditions in the former? These are questions which are pressing for an answer as the industrial housing projects of the United States are nearing completion.

#### THE FIRST APPROACH OF DEMOCRACY TO RECONSTRUCTION

These housing projects are the first approach of democracy to the problem of reconstruction. The town planners may have been as farseeing as the projectors of the New Jerusalem; the architects may have enjoyed that rare privilege of putting their ideals into stone and brick—an opportunity only possible under the liberality of governmental expenditure; but unless proper governments are organized and sustained within these war communities, these housing projects will stand as a monument to the civic incompetency of democracy. The war having disposed of the dictum that we must tolerate public inefficiency in order to enjoy the fruits of individualism and democracy, the way is paved for clear thinking as a condition precedent to right action in relation to the control of the war communities. I have detailed and given emphasis to these questions because the program committee has asked me to define the problem as the basis for this conference about the administration of communities created by the people's money and because the officials responsible for a practical solution of the problem, need and invite the suggestion of this body of experts.

This problem is embodied in the one hundred thousand houses, or other structures, erected, or in course of construction, by the United States, for the accommodation of war workers. The continued building of a mercantile fleet, and the possibility of thousands being engaged in the

construction features of economic reconstruction will make these housing projects available for peace workers. In other words, the houses are needed for peace as well as war workers and the problem does not pass with the ending of the conflict. These projects in the main have been under the direction of four agencies of the United States government:

#### THE GOVERNMENT'S HOUSING PROBLEMS

1. *The War Department*, which has constructed such temporary or permanent structures, sometimes in group or community formation, within the United States, as its military needs required and which has and will provide for the government and maintenance of such centers as federal reservations.

2. *The Navy Department*, which has created similar communities, and which has likewise undertaken the government of such centers by military law and at the expense of the federal taxpayer.

3. The United States Housing Corporation, an agency of the Department of Labor, and which has in process of construction or has completed, the largest number of structures for those general war workers, whose health and well-being were made the basis of maximum production, for supplying the army and navy.

4. The United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, organized within the District of Columbia, and vested by special act of congress with full corporate, coupled with semi-governmental functions.

Let us proceed with my task by elimination. I shall not discuss the army and navy groups because an army and navy government is provided for and by army and navy men; we know that such government will be effective, even if not democratic; I shall not discuss the United States Housing Corporation projects, except as the principles and experiences gleaned from an examination of the Emergency Fleet communities may be applicable; I do desire to discuss certain community projects in which the United States Shipping Board is interested. I shall direct attention to these projects as the first American attempt at reconstruction, and as an open challenge to the forces of democracy to determine whether communities started right have the conscience and intelligence to continue in a right, or modern direction, from the standpoint of political administration.

#### COMMUNITY POLICY OF SHIPPING BOARD

I am not authorized to define the community policy of the shipping board and my comments are the fruit of my own observations. But in the course of many trips to war communities, I have come to view the Fleet Corporation as a shipbuilder, banker, and benevolent paternalism. The shipping board was compelled to face the problem of building ships in competition with the German submarine, but it was also required to enter the industrial race for sufficient labor and then to house those

workers. The difficulty was further complicated by the fact that, unlike the other industries, ships must be built in existing yards, or on ways established on the harbors of the two coasts. This added to the necessary concentration of population for shipbuilding purposes, and it became evident at the outset that community housing projects were and are necessary both as a war and peace measure.

We shall see that the business method of starting these housing projects tends to determine the system of government to be adopted. It is understood that the United States Housing Corporation takes title in fee to the majority, if not all, of its housing projects. But with few exceptions the Fleet Corporation has followed the opposite course. Ship-builders, local business men and chambers of commerce displayed enthusiasm in meeting the suggestion of the shipping board to form separate housing corporations, subscribing for sufficient capital stock to purchase the land for the local project, and then borrowing from the board, on a five or ten year mortgage, a sum sufficient to construct the houses. The terms of this mortgage give the shipping board direction over the plans, and the supervision of construction, and the assignment of the stock in the local housing company to the board, as additional security for the payment of the mortgage, means that this governmental agency is in control of more than thirty housing projects or communities in course of construction on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. This method of working through separate housing corporations has served to focus local interest in the projects, especially from the standpoint of police, fire and business control; to this extent provision is made for the present government of the war communities.

I dismiss without discussion the suggestion that these communities should be governed as proprietary corporations like Pullman of old, or Gary in part, especially when our returning troops will be pledged to making America safe for democracy, and democracy safe in America. Hence this discussion turns upon the future, the immediate future, of the government of the war communities in an hour when the town planner, the architect and the contractor are about to depart, and groups of people who never knew each other until they gathered and concentrated in the war plants of the coasts, are expected as good neighbors to develop that gradual social cohesion and economic balance, without which any community government becomes a mere legalism.

#### DIFFERENCES OF STATE POLICIES

A few concrete examples will show that the problem of providing a government for a war community differs in every instance. This difference is caused by the law of the state, the attitude of the local population to the housing site, the varying methods adopted in initiating a local project and the progress, or lack of progress, made by the existing nearby city.

prior to the war. Let us take Chester, Pennsylvania, as a typical case for discussion and conference. This city with a pre-war population of 30,000 now has over one hundred thousand people. Through local housing companies, the Fleet Corporation has two large projects nearing completion, and within the city. It followed that those projects are subject to administration by the existing government of Chester, and without assuming to determine for this purpose whether the city government is efficient, or inefficient, expensive or inexpensive, certain questions here become important: is the Fleet Corporation, as an agency of the federal government, and in view of the large expenditure of public money for shops and houses, justified in urging the adoption of any different form of administration by Chester? In a suggestion as to a form of local government, by a federal agency, both unwise and improper, under our conception of home rule, even though such same federal projects are subject to heavy taxation as corporate owners?

But Chester presents another phase of the problem. The Fleet Corporation is interested in a large housing project on the Buckman tract, which adjoins the city of Chester. This and similar housing projects, attract the attention and sometimes the envy of the suburban assessors. Many townships object to the adjoining city annexing a war community. In this and many other instances, the city of Chester, and the public utilities have been induced to expend large sums of money for public conveniences, in reliance upon the final annexation of the project as a means of compensation by increased assessments, water and light rates.

#### ANNEXATION QUESTIONS

Annexation questions are determined by the courts in Pennsylvania; there is a legal contest in progress between the city and the township as to the possession of the Buckman tract. In war times, it was necessary to proceed with the housing construction without waiting for a settlement of the legal questions; in this particular instance, the Fleet Corporation is favoring the annexation as a mark of good faith to Chester and the public utility companies; the type of government for Buckman will be determined by whether it remains within the township, or becomes a part of the city of Chester; it is doubtful whether the township has an adequate system of administration to provide fire control, police, school and public utilities for Buckman. But apart from the practical need of making Buckman a part of Chester in times of war, just how far a federal agency may with propriety intervene in disputes of this kind after the coming of peace; and yet some type of government must be provided for projects in this situation; and in this instance, it was sound business sense to annex a system of government by annexing the housing site, leaving to time and the people of the larger community, the making of such alterations in the system of municipal administration as may seem wise.

Two thousand modern houses are completed at Yorkship Village which forms part of the city of Camden. The government housing projects in that city will provide for ten thousand people. These ten thousand people, their dwellings and the public conveniences, as concentrated in one section of Camden, compose a typical small American city, which, under other conditions, might well be the site of an interesting experiment in municipal government. But in fact no such experiment is possible and Yorkship Village must abide by the governmental system which the progressive spirit of Camden provides from decade to decade. Concentrating shipbuilders through employment agencies and then building from one hundred to two thousand houses on a given site, must be followed by water, light, sewer and school facilities.

The Emergency Fleet as a matter of policy and under the stress of war, was right in not loaning money to local housing companies for the construction of public utilities. It had no assurance that those companies knew how to manage utilities; it did not need to be convinced that the tenant shipbuilders, having no property interest in the project, and coming from the four corners of the Republic, did not have that knowledge of, or faith in, each other, which would warrant the Fleet in entering upon a public utility enterprise, subject within the early future to the management of the votors of the town site. This was and is just the situation at Camden, and that city is expending \$654,000 for water, light, sewerage, school facilities and the like, in connection with the government housing projects. The federal agencies were compelled to invite this local aid for the reasons of policy here outlined; but in addition, the military forces needed the same machinery which would have been required by the housing sites if it had been decided to embark upon a public ownership program; thus the war industries board has played a part in determining the future life of the war communities. But it is obvious that the government of Yorkship Village was shaped in advance by the very fact that it depended for its utility services upon the public and private plants of Camden. The city which expends the money as Camden is doing, must enjoy the power of assessment over the housing project in return.

#### HILTON VILLAGE: A REAL OPPORTUNITY

Those who seek in the war communities a possible field for sound civic experiment, may find in Hilton Village their real opportunity. It is stated that the United States Housing Corporation contemplated the construction of a similar village in the vicinity.<sup>2</sup> Situate in the heart of Warrick county, Virginia, and not in immediate geographical contact with Newport News, there is a chance to combine the two villages into one municipality. Without obligations to Newport News, and supplied by public utilities owned by corporations, the establishment of such a municipality, under the laws of Virginia, is in itself an opportunity for

<sup>2</sup> Abandoned since armistice.

selecting and applying a type of government in keeping with the construction of the houses and the lay-out of the settlement. Shall those having a business or civic interest in the possibilities of this community, seek legislation or judicial decree creating a manager or commission type of government for Hilton, or shall they be content to permit the locality to establish a conventional system of administration and later seek to foster public sentiment favorable to a change in the type? This embodies the whole question facing those who are interested in the permanent welfare of war communities through efficient governmental control.

#### THE ST. HELENA PROJECT

The so-called Dundalk and St. Helena housing projects present an interesting subject for civic experiment. The Fleet Corporation owns the fee to the St. Helena project, which consists of dormitories, and which is situated on the opposite side of the highway to the Dundalk enterprise, now being constructed through the Liberty Housing Company. Together these projects constitute a compact and fully equipped village designed to house the families of the men employed by the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Company whose plant is located at Sharrows Point, some two miles away. These projects are located in a rural portion of Baltimore county, Maryland, free from geographical connection with other immediate centers of population, and when I made my first tour of inspection, I decided in my own mind that I had found a center in which to pivot a practical experiment in municipal administration. In other words, I felt that at Dundalk and St. Helena, where the incoming population may start community life under modern conditions only, and free from the prejudices of an older community, and from those legitimate rights in private property, which sometimes bar, or render unduly expensive, public progress, that it would be both possible and wise to give the village the most modern system of local government. I started with that aim in view to give legal life to my ideal. The fate of my ideal is a typical illustration of the difficulties inherent in the problem of making political progress keep pace with the architect and the town planner. I found that many years ago the Maryland legislature was induced to annex a portion of Baltimore county to Baltimore city; years of litigation followed when the act was questioned in the courts; but by final decree a portion of the county becomes a part of Baltimore city on January 1, 1919; that portion includes one corner of the St. Helena project. Thus the unity of the Dundalk and St. Helena project is not possible from a governmental standpoint. But there were and are other difficulties, due to the Maryland law. The annexation to Baltimore as finally sanctioned by the courts deprived the county of property having an assessed valuation of one hundred and twenty-five millions. The suggestion that other portions of the county be annexed, or established as a separate municipal

corporation, thereby making further reductions in the valuation for county purposes, under the law of Maryland, is not received with favor by the political powers and their constituents. What, then, is the status, or predicament, of Dundalk and St. Helena on January 1st? Plainly, it is not possible to establish a commission, or commission-manager government there, and thus further test those municipal systems under the most favorable circumstances. It is fortunate, indeed, that the county law of Maryland does provide an excellent system of rural administration including modern fire fighting and school facilities; and that the projectors of Dundalk, in securing a conveyance of the site, caused clauses to be inserted in the deed providing in perpetuity for a land area tax to be collected each year, and to be applied in securing additional community services and utilities for the residents.

#### THE QUESTION OF OWNERSHIP

There are those who profess to believe that the federal government plans to divest the corporate title to these housing projects and take the ownership in fee. This is followed by the intimation that the adjoining cities should not be asked to make expenditures to provide public services for the war communities because when the government takes title these housing projects become federal reservations and free from taxation. I do not believe and cannot believe, that the government will be guilty of such a breach of faith with those cities which have, or are about, to make such expenditures on the highways of the housing sites. And apart from the question of financial good faith, I do not think that it is wise for the general government to set up industrial housing reservations in various sections of the nation even with the consent of the state legislatures. These housing communities should enjoy the responsibilities, as well as the privileges, of democracy; and I am convinced that people inside and outside the housing sites, will not want these projects managed except as experiments in democracy under democratic control.

The conclusions as to Chester, Dundalk and Camden are confirmed by investigations at Wilmington, Gloucester, Bath and twenty other Fleet cities. The creation of community governments is not an exact science. It follows, therefore, that the policy of the shipping board must vary to meet the community situations due to different state laws and economic conditions. In seeking to establish governments for these war communities, three primary things must be borne in mind; first, the new community must keep faith with the adjoining city which has provided the utilities during a period of expensive war-time construction; secondly, the new community has no claim to special privileges as a federal project, but it does invite and is entitled to receive, the friendly interest and helping hand, of those who see in better housing the key to economic reconstruction; and thirdly, the housing sites and their resi-

dents, within existing cities, should stand as an example to older portions of the community burdened with less attractive structures, but the housing enterprises should not be "marked" as the dwelling place of particular social groups, or of one class, or race of industrial workers.

The attitude of the federal governments and the friends of these housing centers, must be one of political opportunism. Even if the local or state laws permit, the imposition of the best or expert type of community government, will not solve the question. A democracy may develop leadership but it does not tolerate chaperones. A list of patrons will not establish and sustain efficient and democratic systems of control in and for these war communities.

What service, then, may the larger government and the friends of the housing projects, render to war communities about to pass into centers of peace production? None, except to give these communities a chance and that is much; if they cannot make them small but complete democracies, then they may head them in a democratic direction; they must take care that at the outset no corporate or local political agency obtains a vested interest in the stoppage of civic progress; they must make it easier for the people, than the local interest, to control these communities as the Republic's greatest experiment in democracy.

Thus I have been responding to the invitation to state the war community problem upon the understanding that I am to leave for conference discussion the natural questions as to whether the manager, commission, aldermanic, or federal reservation type of government be imposed or impelled in those centers, and within existing, or possible legislation.

But though the federal agencies and their friends start these war communities on a right basis, and chart them toward democracy, the success of these great experiments in architecture and politics, depend upon the voting residents of the town sites. Good people are needed to make a family home and a community life, just as bad people are required to make a jail. It is plain, then, that while the war communities were initiated by the need for war workers, peace permits a more liberal policy in the peopling of these new cities. The laborer and the lawyer, the plumber and the politician, the banker and the preacher, are needed as residents of these new communities to assure that diversity of viewpoint and balancing of interest, without which these towns will lack cohesion and stability. Mere laws and charters, even though democratic in inception and intent, must be supplemented by that attrition between the rights of the many with the privilege of the few, arising out of differing vocations, and forming the basis for continued but deliberate progress in these centers of democratic hope and vision.

## PRESIDENT PURDY'S VIEWS ON RECONSTRUCTION

PRESIDENT PURDY of the National Municipal League was unable to attend the Rochester Conference on account of illness in his home. His views on the general subject considered are contained in the following letter:

105 EAST 22D STREET,  
NEW YORK, November 18, 1918.

I am grieved that I am deprived of the honor of presiding at the opening meeting of the conference of the League. It would have been a privilege and a pleasure to have said a few words about the policy and purpose of reconstruction. Our conference will have little, if anything, to say about the difficult task of demobilization. When the army returns to civil life and the munition makers to peaceful trade, the great change must be planned so that the ordinary business of the country shall be as little disturbed as possible. These plans are vital; they are necessary; but however well they may be carried out their purpose is only to restore order. These plans do not in themselves prepare us for any better civilization than that to which we were accustomed.

Our conference has been called to turn public attention toward a study of plans for our future lives which shall make the lives of men and women better and happier than they were before. We must consider constitutions and laws, charters and codes, that obstacles to progress may be removed and that, so far as action by states and cities may add to and diffuse prosperity, such action shall be taken. We should take thought about the conditions controlling the lives of wage-earners, both organized and unorganized, about public utilities, and the relation of wage-earners to the administration of public utilities whether they are administered as governmental agencies or by private corporations. Public utilities are *quasi-governmental* agencies even when privately administered, and never again must their public nature be neglected. They should be dealt with as natural monopolies. There is no room for competition in the transportation of passengers or goods or in the transmission of intelligence.

The policies that are adopted to meet the present emergency with reference to the public lands and to all our natural resources—land, water, forest, and mine—are of pre-eminent importance to the welfare of the people now and for the future. Speaking generally, no natural resources now owned by the nation or by any state should ever be alienated in perpetuity but should be operated by a governmental agency or under lease for reasonable terms on just compensation.

The war has forced upon us a more adequate attention to public health

than ever before. There is great danger that we shall sink back to the point from which we started. Every gain that has been made in the conservation of the health of our people should be preserved and should be made the starting point for further gains. We cannot have public health without adequate and suitable houses for wage-earners. We have improved our standards of housing. There will be great pressure brought to bear to break down those standards on the theory that houses of such high standard cannot be built at a profit. If that be true, let them be built with public money. However they may be built, never again must we permit such disregard of the health, safety, and morals of the people as has been common in the past.

Sincerely yours,

LAWSON PURDY,  
*President.*

## STORY OF THE ROCHESTER CONFERENCE AND AFTER

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

*Philadelphia*

**C**ALLED while the Great War was in full progress, and before an early armistice was thought of, even by the most hopeful, the Rochester Conference on American Reconstruction Problems came just at the conclusion of hostilities and when the minds of the American people were full of the joy of peace and victory, and were just beginning to think of readjustment on a peace basis. Originally intended to direct attention to the necessity for careful thought about the after-war period, it came at its actual beginning. Perhaps I can best describe the thoughts in the minds of those who were responsible for the meeting by quoting from a letter written by the chairman of the National Municipal Leagues' Committee on Reconstruction (LeRoy E. Synder, of Rochester) in July, 1918:

I am under the necessity of trying to state my views on reconstruction when they are still in progress of formulation.

As I see it, the fundamental basis of reconstruction is philosophical—of the spirit. Let us assume that the soldier who returns from France, who has perhaps been maimed or has lost friends and relatives, has given several valuable years of his own life to the war, will raise the question, "What is this all about?" He will be told that he has been fighting for Democracy. It thus becomes necessary for those of us who pretend to be of some consequence in helping shape public opinion to get at the business of finding out what Democracy means, not in the abstract but in the concrete—what it means for the United States of America in 1919, or 1920, 1921.

It is of course impossible to say whether the people of this country

will come to as clear an appreciation of the necessity for economic, social and physical reconstruction as seems already to have been gained by the people of England, for instance. The program of the British Labor party, of which you spoke in your letter of July 8th (whatever one may think about its practicability or desirability as a whole), nevertheless seems, by almost common acceptance, to have reached the high-water mark of inspiration for the solution of the problems of reconstruction. Not only do I believe it possible to adopt some such a program (modified to suit our conditions and our state of social and economic progress), but I consider it extremely likely that we shall have to adopt some such a program whether we wish to or not.

Now this program of reconstruction means not only physical changes in the aspect of things after the war, or economic and civic adjustments, or industrial and commercial reorganization—to me it means all of these. We have to think, not of a "man on horseback," but of "the man in overalls," as Beard has put it, because he stands on the horizon as the arbiter of our future. He is going to demand a social and industrial organization that will make Democracy a real and tangible thing, and we must consider the problem in its broadest aspects or we shall do a vain and fruitless work.<sup>1</sup>

The war came to an end, however, before America felt its full effects and before there had been any such studies of the problems as Great Britain had been patiently and exhaustively making for upwards of two years as Thomas Adams of Ottawa so fully and adequately described at the opening session of the conference.<sup>2</sup> Nor were we confronted by such necessities for physical rehabilitation and reconstruction as our allies, France and Belgium, are facing and which were so forcefully and poignantly described by M. Lieut. Boyer of the French High Commission and Prof. Van Den Ven of Belgium. The War's termination found us in the flood tide of absorption in warlike enthusiasms that bade fair to sweep us from many, if not all of our moorings and before our spirit had been fused to a white heat. What had been so often prophesied had come true! That the coming of war had found us unprepared for war and the coming of peace would find us unprepared for peace. And yet America had made a great contribution to the early ending of the War by an unparalleled marshalling of her resources and a degree of citizen co-operation undreamed of two years ago—and it does not seem too much to expect that the problems of reconstruction may be attacked in the same way. The present prospects are not any too bright, however; it remains for the citizens of America, both in their individual and in their co-operative capacity to make as great a contribution to the settlement of the after-war problems as to the settlement of the war itself.

The most striking note of the Rochester Conference was HOLD FAST

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Snyder's views on a specific program of reconstruction have been set forth in an article published in the November issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and in a pamphlet which can be had of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research.

<sup>2</sup> It is the expectation of the Editor to publish this address, when revised, in a future issue.

to that which had been gained. It was embodied in the platform<sup>3</sup> presented by Vice-President Richard S. Childs and unanimously adopted by the conference at its closing session. The formal papers published in this issue speak for themselves. They cover a wide range—as was to be expected—from the new relation of the federal government to local communities (although as Dr. McBain pointed out the relation was not so new as the emphasis placed upon it) to the present and future government of the war-time communities representing an immediate and concrete problem of pressing importance.

Certainly *The Survey* was right when it said

If anyone came to Rochester at the invitation of the National Municipal League to find out "what it is all about"—the present-day talk about "reconstruction"—he must have come away perplexed. For, there were some speakers to whom the term meant a spiritual regeneration and others to whom it signified new roads and a large mercantile fleet; some spoke of it as having to do with a national program for a period covering at least a century, and others were impatient because speakers would not "keep to the point"—the problems waiting for solution within the next two months. And yet, the very vagueness of the idea of "reconstruction" in the matter of time, space—ranging as it did from neighborhood questions to foreign relief—and magnitude of tasks helped to bring out a wholesome truth: that in this period of transition from war to peace those concerned for the welfare of the nation cannot afford to neglect any of the factors that enter into the polity, be they small or large, be they concerned with broad purposes or with the satisfaction of immediate needs.

A conference on reconstruction which did not cover so wide a range would have been lacking. There are immediate problems like the demobilization of the troops and the "re-education" of the wounded and the adaptation of the great machinery of citizen co-operation to peace ends. And there are the great problems of nation planning which must now come into the forum of discussion. All these and sundry other topics were touched upon both in the formal papers and in the ten minute discussion, very little of which was pertinent to the papers, and all of which was germane to the objects of the conference.<sup>4</sup>

What next? The Rochester platform represents certain important and comprehensive lines of action mostly governmental. A conference on demobilization and the responsibilities of organized social agencies was held in New York, November 29 and 30. This was fully reported in *The Survey* of December 7. As was natural it dealt largely with social questions. A War Emergency and Reconstruction Congress was held in Atlantic City, December 3-6 under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce of the

<sup>3</sup> See page 1.

<sup>4</sup> We hope to cull out and publish in a future issue some of the fine and stimulating things which were said. The stenographic report was not received in time to enable us to do it in this number.

United States. It dealt with business and industrial questions, as was to be expected and its conclusions dealt with them. In January there is to be held still another reconstruction conference in Washington under the auspices of the National Popular Government League. Elaborate bibliographies of reconstruction have been published by the Department of Labor and the Sage Foundation.

Elisha M. Friedman has edited a national symposium on the economic and financial aspects of the subject under the title *American Problems of Reconstruction*<sup>5</sup> to which Secretary Lane of the Department of the Interior has added an appropriate foreword. The contributors, including: O. P. Austin, Charles J. Brand, Frederick A. Cleveland, William B. Colver, Irving Fisher, Lillian Moller Gilbreth, Emory R. Johnson, E. W. Kemmerer, Ray Morris, Alexander D. Noyes, Robert L. Owen, George W. Perkins, Allen Rogers, Charles M. Schwab, Edwin R. A. Seligman, Francis H. Sisson, George Otis Smith, Frank A. Vanderlip, and Willis R. Whitney, treat a long list of subjects under four headings: A perspective of the problem; efficiency in production; adjustments in trade and finance; and programs, monetary and fiscal. These are treated from the following points of view: (a) What are the temporary effects of the war? (b) How may readjustment to peace conditions be facilitated? (c) What are the permanent effects of the war? (d) What changes in our national life must result therefrom? (e) What should be our national economic policy?<sup>6</sup>

Books and articles in increasing numbers will be published. Other conferences will be held—but what next? HOLD FAST was the fundamental note of the National Municipal League's Conference and its platform—but Quicken the Pace was another thought which was found there. A serious situation confronts us. In the words of a leading member of the conference embodied in a letter written after a week spent in Washington:

The reactionary forces are at work in Washington. There is no question that everyone recognizes the value of the developments so far assured in the many constructive branches of the Government Construction Departments in Washington. The leaders there, however, are practically all men anxious to return to their affairs in civil life. That means that the efforts towards reconstruction, present and future, must be reorganized by others than those that have been leaders so far.

Talking generalities will do no good. Some one or group will need to sit down and develop a definite scheme combining the affairs of the several

<sup>5</sup> Published by E. P. Dutton & Co. of New York.

<sup>6</sup> Two other interesting volumes should be read in this connection. One is by Brougham Villiers, entitled *Britain After the Peace: Revolution or Reconstruction*. It also is published by E. P. Dutton & Co. The other is by Dr. Richard T. Ely; *The World War and Leadership in a Democracy*, published by the Macmillan Co. Both were written before the armistice was concluded, but both are pertinent and stimulating now that reconstruction problems are upon us.

departments or activities, and then striking hard in both executive and legislative branches to secure a permanent beneficial organization, one or more. The members of the principal departments of the federal government fully appreciate the value of the accomplishments heretofore, and the difficulty lies in the almost inevitable need of reorganization of the federal departments; probably adding one or more new ones.

These observations have led the chairman of the League's original committee on reconstruction to offer the following comments which call for urgent and thoughtful consideration:

It seems to me clear from the fact that the President apparently believes there is no need for special effort to think or plan for reconstruction, that we are in quite serious danger of losing the benefit of the advance toward wholesome governmental control for industrial and social efficiency that was effected during the war. We have reached the anti-climax, and the danger is that literally within a few weeks we may find the whole new structure of war-time governmental activity wrecked beyond any possibility of reconstruction within a reasonable time.

Had the President shown the inclination to take the leadership which we expected him to assume, he would have made earnest effort to persuade Congress to retain the various governmental agencies for supervision and control that were built up as war-time machinery, and to improve their functioning so that they might reasonably be expected to work effectively for peace. At least he would have said, "Here are certain desirable objects that may be obtained by the exercise of power similar to that which has been given to such and such a board during the war. We must make sure that government does not relinquish these powers until there is substantial agreement that such relinquishment will not be to the disadvantage of our national life."

In such circumstances, it would have been the duty of every person in office and out to study the whole problem of the organization of government from this new point of view, so that we might not only conserve the gains achieved by the war but make such additional progress in the same direction as the enlightened public opinion of the country would support. What has apparently happened is that the President, being unable or unwilling to attack these problems sympathetically, has virtually said to the Congress and to the nation, "The war is over. Private initiative may be depended upon to readjust industry and society to the pre-war basis. All we have to do is to drop our new tools as soon as we can conveniently do so and get back into the old system of things." Even on the vital question of railroads, he has no opinion and gives no promise of leadership.

This whole situation is profoundly discouraging. It seems to me that the President, committed to an international program behind which liberals can stand, has abandoned the field of domestic problems and left this field in the complete possession of reaction. The task of liberals in this country would have been tremendous if it had meant simply backing the President in a definite program of domestic advance, but if the liberals must make progress without the President's leadership, and perhaps even his interest, the task is rendered extraordinarily difficult.

Yet our duty is more imperative than ever. It seems to me the big problem just now is to get in touch with every agency in the country

that is interested in forming public opinion along some such lines as were laid down in the platform adopted by the Rochester Reconstruction Conference. Might it not be well for the League's Reconstruction Committee to meet as soon as arrangements can be made to consider a definite program of propaganda and legislative effort that might be presented to the larger Committee on Reconstruction, which could be called to meet on the day following the meeting of the League's committee? In order to formulate a program that might be presented in pretty definite shape to the larger committee, our own committee might call into counsel several persons whose names will suggest themselves as the matter is gone over—persons who have special acquaintance with the particular phases of work that has been done by the government during the war and with the legislative situation.

WE REPEAT: WHAT NEXT?

# DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

## I. BOOK REVIEWS

**OUR CITIES AWAKE.** By Morris Llewellyn Cooke. Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918. 348 pp.

Any book which gives the public the benefit of Mr. Cooke's four years of constructive leadership with Philadelphia's department of public works during the Blankenburg administration is worth while. Nearly every one with more than a casual interest in city management has read and admired the unusual reporting publicity inspired by Mr. Cooke during that time. This book is one of those reports grown up. Here nearly every phase of city government is talked about informally, illustrated with pointed cartoons, live photographs, and sometimes home talent poetry. The reader will not be bored, and the layman will find that a lot of things have been actually done in governmental establishments which were formerly believed to belong only to the realm of "efficient private business."

At the same time the in-the-rut official who has "no time" to make improvements or who "doesn't see the value of these new things" will secure an excellent stimulus to the imagination. Even the college teacher of local government may seize upon a half hundred pat illustrations to liven up some legalistic, statistical, political science.

The title is not entirely correct because mighty few cities are as awake as was the Philadelphia department of public works during 1912-16. Nor is the book written so much about other cities as about Philadelphia with occasional illustrations from experiments and practices of other communities.

The sub-title, "notes on municipal activities and administration," coupled with the preface statement that in the book "an effort has been made to record informally some of the steps taken to raise the work of the department (of public works) to a higher level," more accurately states the content. And that content is

well worth reading, particularly in the light of the foreword by Newton D. Baker, who points out the responsibilities of modern, progressive government to the returned soldier, "each of these soldiers will become a citizen again, with his trade or profession, with his family, with his friends, and with the rest of life to live among conditions which he has won the right to expect shall be free and fine."

But Mr. Cooke's review of the inspiring progress made during his four years of work raises a question which must be answered plainly and truthfully in the immediate future if the workers for progress are to keep heart.

Why have "Our Cities Awake" turned over, looked at the sun, and so inevitably gone back to sleep again? Why did Philadelphia, with Mr. Cooke's service and Mr. Cooke's deft telling of it, go back at least part way to the old? Why after a single term would New York have no more of Mitchel, and the reform he stood for? Why did Cincinnati repudiate Hunt whose record of works done was unimpeachable? Somebody someday soon will tell that story and present a fact basis of wakening cities and keeping them awake.

LENT D. UPSON.



**AMERICAN CITIES: THEIR METHODS OF BUSINESS.** By A. B. Gilbert. New

York: The Macmillan Company, \$1.50.

This may be briefly described as an essay in municipal pragmatism. Campaigns for reforms in cities are generally based on appeals to civic righteousness. Mr. Gilbert establishes the proposition that wise city management advances the material interests of all the enterprises which conduce to the general prosperity of the citizen, by emphasizing the differentials which enable a community to compete with commercial rivals.

The proper attitude of city government toward such important factors as land value, public services and the capital neces-

sary for development are exhaustively discussed, with a wealth of citations from authoritative sources. A very valuable presentation of the manager plan of city government will be found of much interest by students of that administrative innovation. The need for a thorough industrial survey to form a basis for intelligent municipal policy is properly insisted upon as a fundamental initial step, and valuable hints are given as to the points most necessary to be studied.

Credit is given to German municipal management as a most important factor in enabling that country to sustain for so long a period the economic strain imposed by the war.

Every serious student of municipal questions will find "American Cities" brimful of useful suggestions, on many perplexing problems. The book is a model of concise statement undimmed by rhetorical exaggerations or mere denunciation. The author has a clear vision of cities contending with each other for population and business. Thucydides said that he could not play on any stringed instrument but could tell the people who would hearken to him, how to create a great and powerful state. Mr. Gilbert does not disclaim ability as a musician, but like the Greek historian, he can tell our cities how to develop to the utmost the advantages which they may possess in their struggle with their economic rivals. He pays a generous tribute to the late Tom L. Johnson, to whose efforts for the development of Cleveland, he ascribes his own interest in the subject, which he has so ably developed in "American Cities."

J. J. M.

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**THE VALLEY OF DEMOCRACY**, by Merideth Nicholson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.00.

The Valley of Democracy is a phrase from the pen of Dr. John H. Finley, which Mr. Nicholson adopts as the title of a little book of essays dealing with the people of the middle west and their politics. These essays show an intimate acquaintance and a broad sympathy with the progressive and yet somewhat puritanical social and

political mind from Ohio to Kansas. "Folks and their Folksiness" rambles whimsically among the plain common people and comes close home to those who love the "valley." "Types and Diversion" justifies the liberal and American west and pokes mild fun at the conservative and heterogeneous east. In a rough way the ground of these two essays was sketched several years ago in an even more delightful and humorous vein, in a little essay by Carl Becker under the title "Kansas."

Chicago gets a special and separate treatment in an essay that breathes the hopes and aspirations of the big lake city. All the west believes in Chicago and pays it tribute and compliment. Chicago gets into the blood as few cities do; it is a city, but in the last analysis a city of the future, the motto of which is "I Will."

The chapter on the farmer is well done. Changes in farm life during recent years, the influence of agricultural colleges and experiment stations, the coming of the automobile and the tractor and other labor-saving machines, are all illuminated by Mr. Nicholson's treatment. The plea for more and better farms is summed up in a quotation which opens the chapter: "Raise corn, my boys, it grows while you sleep."

In its mild way the book is in part a plea for better city management, for the manager idea and for progressive reorganization in municipal government. The two scant pages on the Non-Partisan League of the northwest is hardly a fair statement of the whole movement. It is, after all, merely a summary of what its enemies say about it. The league deserves a more careful study than has yet been given it by anyone who assumes to write of the political ideas and movements in the "Valley of Democracy."

For the most part the book is refreshing and invigorating. It is a sign that politics and political thinking are on the up-grade when they are dealt with in this popular vein and offered on the market between the covers of "a readable book."

C. A. DYKSTRA.

*Cleveland, Ohio.*

SAFE AND UNSAFE DEMOCRACY. By Henry Ware Jones. New York; Thos. Y. Crowell Company.

Mr. Jones has framed a crushing indictment of the actual practice of politics in the United States. Such an achievement is not rare, but this book is exceptional in that it has explored the whole field of public action and offers the most minute specifications of the charges. It is hardly too much to say that his thorough exploration of the body politic finds no sound spot in it. In his preface he warns the casual reader that the book will not be found amusing—and it is not. He directs his sharpest criticism at the institutions, known as political parties, but which he terms "partisan parties." He avers that they exist primarily for the ambition or material benefit of their officers and a few of their members, and only secondarily, and to an unimportant degree, for the propagation of political opinion. He condemns the attempt to regulate "partisan parties," because thereby they are given a legal status and their power is increased and consolidated rather than controlled. In this conclusion many students of electoral reform will concur. He contends that the Fathers never contemplated such bodies as these, or that some provision would have been made for them in the framework of the constitutions of the nation or the states.

He shows little consideration for the various rebellious groups, which, under the name of reform organizations, have appeared to temper the despotism of political bosses. These movements appeal to the author as futile attempts to improve "partisan parties," when the purpose of every patriot should be to destroy them.

Naturally Mr. Jones is friendly to the idea of direct legislation, but he condemns its application to administrative questions, believing that it should be limited to those reserve powers which find their proper place in constitutions. He would make participation in government compulsory on all voters, just as military and jury duties are. He favors proportionate representation, meaning thereby a repre-

sentation based upon ideas in proportion to the numbers of people holding them, but he has no patience with proportional representation, which he sees simply as a device to secure for the "partisan parties" their proportionate share in government. The method of administration of our naturalization laws receives scathing criticism.

The author seems to have made no charges which cannot be substantiated from the records; the general effect of this monumental work of five hundred pages is depressing to the citizen who would like to maintain some hopefulness of progress toward political ideals. Still the author has expended immense effort to lay before us a searching diagnosis of our political ills, and for this we owe him gratitude. His work seems weak on the constructive side, because he only indicates the direction in which we must look for improvement. Apparently he would have the nation and the states adopt some kind of declaration of the general purpose for which their respective governments are organized; and with it a formulation of the duties of citizenship so that every man may know what is expected of him. Of course, he insists upon the importance of general education in order that the citizen may be fitted for those duties which democracy inevitably imposes on him.

The thought arises that human nature working under such defective social conditions as now obtain, cannot adapt itself effectively to any severely logical system. To many people the ignorance of the mass of voters, which inevitably inheres in any present practice of universal suffrage, seems to contradict the fundamental axiom of democracy that everybody knows better than anybody. But do persons really consider the process of mutual cancellation which goes on in every election? When it comes to a choice between yes and no, the ignorant have one chance in two of voting right. No party enjoys a monopoly of the unintelligent vote of the country, and so a sort of equilibrium of ignorance is established and the result is determined by a shifting percentage of people who maintain at least a

measure of independence. At the same time the stabilizing fact penetrates the consciousness of the ignorant that they are having their share in the direction of the destinies of the country. J. J. M.

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LEGISLATIVE REGULATION OF RAILWAY FINANCE IN ENGLAND. By Ching Chun Wang, Director of Kin-Han Railway, China. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1918. 196 p.

This monograph is a real contribution to the subject of railroad regulation and a very readable work as well. In its eight chapters, it takes up the following subjects:—general legislation on railway finance; legislative supervision of capitalization—share capital; supervision of railway capitalization—loan capital; control of the borrowing powers of railway companies; registration of railway securities; regulation of stock watering; the regulation of railway accounts; state auditing and inspecting.

England was not only the pioneer country in the construction of railroads, but also in the regulation of railroad finance, beginning at a very early date. While regulatory legislation dates back to the early days of railroad promotion, there have never been any really hostile laws passed by Parliament, due, perhaps, to the very fact that railroad finance was regulated from the beginning along more conservative lines than in other countries. The chief aim appears to have been, not to impose restrictions in the interest of the public, so much as to protect the investor. And there has been a tendency all along to hamper capital as little as possible within the bounds of reason; with the result that capital has always been easy to raise for British railroads, and the chief danger in railroad finance has been one of overbuilding and overinvestment, rather than any dearth of capital. England, then, has steered rather a middle course in regulation, differing both from the policies found with the government-owned roads of Europe, and the restrictions imposed by recent state public utility laws in the United States, as well as from the

extreme *laissez-faire* methods which so long prevailed in this country.

One of the indications of liberality in British railroad legislation is the fact, not generally realized perhaps, that stock watering is still permitted in England, though the practice has been rather on the wane since 1891, when "stock splitting," as it is called, reached one of its highest points of development. The reason for the existence of stock watering in England, as in the United States, was the belief that two classes of stock would sell better than one; but the results often failed to justify this belief, although there is still no legislation prohibiting the practice.

The student of railroad finance will find the whole monograph of interest, with no trace of the Eastern origin of its writer.

JOHN P. FOX.

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HEALTH AND THE STATE. By William A. Brend, Lecturer on Forensic Medicine, Charing Cross Hospital. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. Cloth, 6 x 9 in.; pp. 354. \$4 net.

Although dealing wholly with the British aspects of the subject, this volume should appeal to all interested in public health, state and local government, national insurance and medical treatment at state expense. The main thesis is the need for a ministry of health and a better co-ordination of local health administration, which latter the author believes should be the basis of public health work. The ministry of health, Dr. Brend believes, should be a research and advisory agent, leaving actual health administration to other state departments and to local authorities. The author deplores the framing of laws and policies by laymen members of Parliament. He points out the almost complete absence of medical men from the British Parliament and the large number of lawyers in that body and urges that the lawyers are far too dependent on precedent to deal rightly with any growing scientific subject. The large proportion of medical men in the French Parliament is mentioned—but the author does not claim that French public health

legislation and administration are superior or even equal to British.

In developing his subject the author discusses some of the communicable diseases, infant mortality, disease in children and adults, and public health in relation to land and housing—coming out strongly for the theory that environmental conditions are the dominant factor in infant mortality and tuberculosis. Data in support of this theory are presented which deserve careful weighing and suggest that similar data for the United States might well be compiled and studied.

The workings of the British national insurance act, and particularly medical treatment at public expense under it, are presented in some detail and with spirited adverse criticism. The doctors who treat sick insured persons are held to be overworked and underpaid, while of the total appropriation made far too much is allowed for drugs. Too little provision is made for accurate diagnosis, and for special surgical and other treatment, including hospitalization.

Coming finally to governmental as distinguished from technical details of state and local health work, the author seems to find that it is not so easy as the specialist may at first think to get clear of laymen control in a democracy. That is, he bumps hard up against the old question of reconciling democracy with efficiency. The soundness of his main contentions here and his earnestness throughout, lead one to suggest that the author read or reread Mill's "Representative Government" and perhaps some of the more recent discussions of the separation of legislative and executive functions in state and municipal government.

M. N. BAKER.



AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND ASIATIC CITIZENSHIP. By Sidney L. Gulick. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918. 357 p.

Few who write on American-Japanese problems are better qualified than Dr. Gulick to discuss the question of Japanese immigration. Out of his intimate knowledge of Japan and the Japanese and his

close contact with the problem on the Pacific coast, Dr. Gulick has arrived at certain definite conclusions as to the nature of the Japanese problem and the proper method for its solution. That solution he finds in the adoption by congress of a policy embodying these two proposals: "First. All immigration should be regulated by the principle that America shall admit only so many immigrants from any particular people as she can Americanize. Second. Privileges of citizenship should be given to every individual who personally qualifies, regardless of his race."

The second feature of Dr. Gulick's proposal is designed to remove all race discrimination—a discrimination particularly resented by Japan. The first of these principles aims to protect the Pacific coast not only, but the entire country, from excessive immigration from all countries. Specifically, Dr. Gulick would fix an annual maximum number of immigrants which may be admitted from any country, that maximum to be a definite per cent, say five, of the naturalized citizens and American-born children of each immigrant race.

In presenting these proposals, the author devotes much attention to modern Japan, her problems and her claims, as well as to China and our dealings with Asiatics in this country.

C. C. WILLIAMSON.



AMERICANIZATION. By Royal Dixon. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916. 196 p.

This little volume was published in July, 1916. Perhaps there would be little justification for this belated note if it were not for the very remarkable interest which has since developed in Americanization. Mr. Dixon was, among other things, the editor of "The Immigrants in America Review," and had therefore a special insight into the Americanization movement at the time when it was receiving its first stimulus from the European war. In these brief, "sketchy" essays he gave an interpretation of conditions unfavorable to assimilation and set forth interestingly some features of the under-

lying philosophy of Americanization. He had little to say, however, of the agencies and methods to be employed.

As an associate of Miss Frances A. Kellar, he naturally has much to say of her numerous activities in behalf of the immigrant, and particularly the work of the National Americanization Committee. Upon the work of women's organizations he dwells at length, reprinting *in toto* Miss Kellar's syllabus of studies in Americanization for women's organizations (p. 113 to 124). At the time Mr. Dixon was writing the celebration of the first Americanization day, Monday, July 5, 1915, seemed to have a very large significance.

Chapters on "National Preparedness" and "Organized for Peace" have at best a very remote bearing on the problem of Americanization. On the whole, it may be said that the volume illustrates well the difficulty that even the best informed person has in grasping the full significance of a movement in its early stages.

C. C. WILLIAMSON.

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**"THE RESPONSIBLE STATE."** By Franklin H. Giddings. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1918, Pp. 108. Price, \$1 net.

The title is attractive. These are times in which the need of means for asserting and maintaining the responsibility of the state is felt by all thoughtful men. But if one turns to this treatise for information what to do and how to do it, one will be disappointed. It is a discourse upon political ideals from the standpoint of sociology, on the lines drawn

by Herbert Spencer, from whose views Professor Giddings dissents in important particulars, but with whom he agrees in regarding human morality as a derivative from brute instinct by evolutionary process. This theory is somewhat discredited at present because of its failure to explain rights and duties, neither of which are accounted for by the existence of instincts. Indeed, there are now people rude enough to say that Herbert Spencer is an exploded quack, whose tags and catchwords ought to be discarded. Professor Giddings' difficulty is that he keeps talking about right and wrong without anything to show why and wherefore. The Spartacus group in Berlin, from the same evolutionary premises which Professor Giddings adopts, would regard such views as he expresses as mere bourgeois clap-trap. When it comes to practical advice, all that Professor Giddings can give is,—better go slow. As between socialism and individualism, the duty of the state is to wait "until there shall be a more decisive and satisfying meeting of minds upon the issues involved than is possible now." There are lots of people who will not agree to that but will demand action. Moreover, emergencies have presented themselves which compel action in one way or another. Persons confronted by such responsibilities will get no help from sociology. There is more practical advice in *The Federalist*, written 130 years ago, about the means of establishing the responsible state, than in all the sociological treatises that have appeared from the time Comte invented the term down to the present day. HENRY JONES FORD.

## II. BOOKS

**AMERICA IN FRANCE.** By Frederick Palmer. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. Pp. 479. \$1.75.

**A SYLLABUS OF CIVICS.** By F. D. Boynton, Superintendent of Schools, Ithaca, N. Y. Boston: Ginn & Company. Pp. 48. 30 cents.

**AMERICAN PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION.** A National Symposium on the Economic and Financial Aspects. Edited by Elisha M. Friedman with a foreword by Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior. New York: E. P.

## RECEIVED

Dutton & Company. 1918. Pp. 471. \$4 net.

**APPLIED EUGENICS.** By Paul Popenoe. Editor of the *Journal of Heredity* (Organ of the American Genetic Association), Washington, D. C., and Roswell Hill Johnson, Professor in the University of Pittsburgh. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1918.

**BRITAIN AFTER THE PEACE.** Revolution or Reconstruction. By Brougham Villiers. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Pp. 249. \$2.50 net.

**BUDGET MAKING IN A DEMOCRACY.** By Edward A. Fitzpatrick, Draft Administrator of Wisconsin, Director of the Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. 317. \$1.50.

**CITY TIDES.** By Archie Austin Coates. New York: George H. Doran Company. Pp. 191. \$1.25.

**COMMERCIAL ARBITRATION AND THE LAW.** By Julius Henry Cohen. New York: D. Appleton & Company. Pp. 339. \$3 net.

**CRIME PREVENTION.** By Arthur Woods. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. Pp. 124. \$1 net.

**KEEPING OUR FIGHTERS FIT.** By Edward Frank Allen. Written under the supervision of Raymond B. Fosdick, Chairman of the War and Navy Departments Commissions on Training Camp Activities, with a special statement written for the book by President Wilson. New York: The Century Company. Pp. 207. \$1.25.

**LEAGUE OF NATIONS—ITS PRINCIPLES EXAMINED.** By Theodore Marburg, M.A., LL.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1918.

**NATIONAL IDEALS AND PROBLEMS.** By Maurice Garland Fulton, Professor of English, Davidson College. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. 415.

**SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM.** By Sir Charles Macara, Bart. Manchester:

Sherrett & Hughes, 34 Cross Street. 1918. Pp. 207. 5s. net.

**SURVEY OF THE ST. LOUIS SCHOOLS** in five volumes. Board of Education, St. Louis, Mo. 1917-18.

**THE A B C OF EXHIBIT PLANNING.** By 'Evart G. Routzahn, Associate Director Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, and Mary Swain Routzahn. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 1918. \$1.50 net.

**THE CAUSES OF DEPENDENCY BASED ON A SURVEY OF ONEIDA COUNTY.** Chester Lee Carlisle, M.D., Director, State of New York State Board of Charities, Division of Mental Defect and Delinquency, The Bureau of Analysis and Investigation, Eugenics and Social Welfare. Bulletin No. XV, The Capitol, Albany, N. Y. 1918.

**THE ENCLOSURES IN ENGLAND—AN ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION.** By Harriett Bradley, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economics, Vassar College (Sometime University Fellow in Economics). New York: Columbia University. Longmans, Green & Company, Agents. 1918. Pp. 112.

**THE WORLD WAR AND LEADERSHIP IN DEMOCRACY.** By Richard T. Ely, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin. New York: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. 189. \$1.50.

**UNTAXING THE CONSUMER.** By William Thum. Pasadena, Cal.: The Grant Press. 1918. Pp. 97.

### III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

**A Survey of the Revenue System of Delaware County, Pennsylvania,** by Gordon Watkins, a thesis for the Graduate School, University of Pennsylvania. Published by the People's Association of Delaware County, Lansdowne, Pennsylvania.

In this 80 page pamphlet, the author sets forth in close detail the revenue system of a typical county government. He finds it as might be expected, an easy-going countryfied institution in which the expert is conspicuously absent. Property is assessed by guesswork by men who have no knowledge of property values and every reason to undervalue. Tradition is the governing force rather than law or sense. Tax collection is sketchy and numerous tax laws are dead letters. Politicians hand-pick party hacks to be elected to

underpaid sleepy routine jobs that are hardly worth taking. Money in small amounts slips away through the limp fingers of the officials. Small properties pay more than their share of public expenses.

While such information will cause no surprise it is important to have our universal impression justified in patient detail and scientifically substantiated without heat or bitterness. It is one of the best contributions to county government literature.

It is when the author turns to remedies that the thesis weakens. The devices he proposes are the very ones that have everywhere failed. Adding an affidavit to a signature, raising pay, getting officials together for mutual education are mere

palliatives compared with bolder and deeper remedies such as central county assessment and tax collection by properly-paid appointive specialists who are remote from parochial politics and who hold office for indefinite tenures.

Possibly reasons of expediency and a desire to exercise an immediate influence on the local situation restrained the author's imagination.

Copies of the thesis have been obtained by the Short Ballot Organization, for issue to subscribers to its "Documents of County Government."

R. S. CHILDS.

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"How to Run a City: Who Knows?"— "The fact is that the world knows how to run a city in the best possible way. The world knows it but no one man knows it and no one city knows it. I mean that somewhere in this or other lands, some mayor, fire or police commissioner, health officer, school supervisor or what not is running his particular department better than it was ever run before; more easily, more cheaply, more agreeably to the public.

"Here is where the library comes in. In books, journals and reports, that is, in print, are to be found all of these best ideas; and if you wish to find them, to print you must go.

"Now it is a library's business to take care of all that's in print, to store it and index it and so fix it that it will yield up to the inquirer all that it contains.

"In print somewhere are nearly all the secrets of good city management. Therefore, if you would know how your city should be managed you must call on the library. And here it is."

The paragraphs above were written by John Cotton Dana, the librarian of the Newark public library, known everywhere among librarians for his fertile mind and his gift for publicity. The statement appeared first some years ago in the form of a broadside in *The Newarker*, a publicity organ for the public library, and now reproduced in facsimile in that library's new monthly bulletin entitled *The Library and The Museum Therein* of which the first issue appeared in July, 1918.

One might venture a guess that the paragraphs quoted were written when municipal reference libraries were still something of a fad. Nowadays, it is the business man who is usually pictured as dependent on the public library for the information necessary for efficient management. Public business as well as private business, if efficiently managed, must use the knowledge and experience of the world. The storing and indexing and making available of the useful print of the world is a function of the library—a function so essential and so manifestly unfitted for private exploitation that practically everywhere library service is regarded as a function of government.

C. C. WILLIAMSON.

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"War Suburbs and War Cities" has been treated effectively in an illustrated pamphlet by Andrew Wright Crawford, the field secretary of the American Civic Association, Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C. Mr. Crawford points out that while the war has emphasized the necessity of appropriate and adequate housing facilities, "the United States is furnishing the good, the bad and the indifferent as precedents." "Altogether," he believes, "the cause of a better America is being advanced more than we could have hoped for in a generation without the war."

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**The Rochester Public Safety Campaign.**—Between March 1 and September 1, 1918, a thorough-going public safety campaign of an educational character was conducted under the auspices of the Rochester chamber of commerce and the Rochester local council of the National Safety Council. The report<sup>1</sup> of the campaign by Julian H. Harvey, its director, is one of the most valuable contributions to the literature of public safety. While it is impossible to measure the results of such a campaign in the number of

<sup>1</sup> The Rochester public safety campaign, by Julian H. Harvey, 1918. 149 p. May be obtained from W. H. Cameron, secretary, National Safety Council, Continental and Commercial Bank Bldg., Chicago, Ill. Price, \$1.

public accidents prevented, the Rochester campaign did demonstrate that the number of accidents can be reduced. Much valuable experience was gained which is now available through this report to other communities contemplating a similar campaign.

Mr. Harvey's report is divided into three parts: First, the story of the campaign, "What they did, and how they did it." Second, recommended practices for public safety movements, which is full of suggestions for organization and preliminary work, including the use of schools and playgrounds and the various mechanical devices which help to promote the movement.

In the third section of the report, the appendix, there is a mass of data which will be helpful in meeting specific problems. Excerpts from speeches on public safety, suggestions for teachers, policemen, railway employes, business men and others, data for talks on slides, posters, bulletins and circulars, suggested publicity, minute films for display in motion picture houses, subjects for photographs, a course of school study in accident prevention, records and filing systems, and a host of other suggestions of practical value. No one contemplating a public safety campaign can fail to obtain from a study of this book, much that is of immediate practical value.

WAYNE D. HEYDECKER.<sup>1</sup>

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**Sources of Municipal Revenue.**<sup>2</sup>—The Bureau of the Census has performed a timely service to city officials in compiling information on certain classes of revenue which may be utilized to offset the loss of receipts from taxes on the liquor traffic. In this report revenues from special assessments, business taxes other than on the liquor traffic, general license taxes and license taxes on dogs are presented in detail for the two hundred and nineteen municipalities which had at the

<sup>1</sup> Director of Research, American City Bureau.

<sup>2</sup> "Specified Sources of Municipal Revenue" including special assessments, business taxes other than on the liquor traffic, general license taxes, and cence taxes on dogs, in cities having a population of over 30,000. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1917. 140 p.

middle of the fiscal year reported an estimated population of over 30,000.

The statistics show a steady decline in the receipts from taxes on the liquor traffic. In 1903 receipts from liquor traffic in cities of over 30,000 population, amounted to 6.1 per cent of the total revenue receipts. This has steadily declined until in 1917 only 3.5 per cent was received from this source.

The data compiled in regard to the use of special assessments in American municipalities will be especially useful. For each of the cities reported upon, a brief summary is given of the purposes for which special assessments are levied. It is interesting to note that western cities in general make a much larger use of this method of paying for various improvements and services. The average proportion of total revenue receipts from this source is 7.8 per cent. It yields over 20 per cent, however, of the total revenue of twenty cities, of which all but four are west of the Mississippi. Charleston, West Virginia, with 38.8 per cent heads the list. It appears also that the smaller cities rely more largely on this method of financing improvements than do the larger.

Complete lists are given showing every kind of license tax imposed on businesses of any kind. For many of the southern cities these lists are very extensive. Atlanta, Georgia, for example, imposes a license on four hundred sixty different kinds of business or occupation. These range all the way from one dollar a year for each sleeping room in a hotel to \$500 a day for a circus or wild-west show.

C. C. WILLIAMSON.

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**Municipal Coal Yards.**—During the past few months the press has given considerable attention to stories about "cities entering the coal business," and reference and research bureaus have been receiving numerous inquiries. A little report on "Municipal Coal Yards" recently published

<sup>1</sup> "Municipal Coal Yards," by Ford H. MacGregor, Municipal Reference Bulletin No. 4. Extension Division, University of Wisconsin, May, 1918. 24 p. 10 cents.

by Ford H. MacGregor, chief of the municipal reference bureau of the University of Wisconsin, is therefore a timely contribution.

After a preliminary discussion of the question of municipally-owned and operated fuel yards, with special reference to the power to undertake such unaccustomed functions, Mr. MacGregor reviews the steps which are reported to have been taken at one time or another toward the sale of fuel in Ashland, Eau Claire, Marinette, Oshkosh, Racine and Wausau. These Wisconsin cities are more fortunate than cities in most other states because of a legislative enactment of 1917 specifically conferring upon the various municipalities the power to establish municipal coal yards. In other states, cities "have been obliged to resort to various indirect and semi-official means of accomplishing that end." Nevertheless a number of cities have embarked in the coal business. Mr. MacGregor cites the following: Bluefield, West Virginia, Columbus, Ohio, Denver, Colorado, Frankfort, Kentucky, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Lewiston, Maine, Menominee, Michigan, Muscatine, Iowa, Omaha, Nebraska, Paterson, New Jersey, and Two Harbors, Maine.

Unverified reports received by the municipal reference bureau indicate that action of this kind has been taken or is contemplated in Evansville, Indiana, Muncie, Indiana, Steubenville, Ohio, Terre Haute, Indiana, Virginia, Minnesota, Cambridge, Ohio, Portland, Oregon, Spokane, Washington, Wilmington, Delaware, In Des Moines, Iowa, Dayton, Ohio, Akron, Ohio, Bucyrus, Ohio, and Shelby, Ohio, the city authorities, facing the possibility of closing down essential institutions and activities, have confiscated coal for municipal use.

In closing Mr. MacGregor points out certain questions which should be considered by any city before establishing a municipal coal yard. Adequate supply should be assured in advance; it should be determined whether coal should be supplied only to the needy or to all comers; the city must also determine whether coal will be sold at cost or at cost plus a

reasonable profit. The question of a city ice plant should also be considered, as this commodity may be conveniently handled in connection with a coal yard.

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**Municipal Ownership: With a Special Survey of Municipal Gas Plants in America and Europe.** By Albert M. Todd. Chicago: Public Ownership League of America, 1918. viii 122 pp.

Written by Albert M. Todd, president of the Public Ownership League of America, the reader will naturally expect this book to be strongly in favor of municipal ownership and operation of the various municipal utilities. In his preface Mr. Todd states that because of early experiences with corporate bodies operating public utilities he became convinced "that the corporations . . . were not only usurping functions which rightly belonged to the government, but were rapidly becoming so rich and powerful as to be a serious menace to liberty, justice and democracy, in defiance of which, private monopoly ever sought to control the making and administration of law."

Because of this conviction Mr. Todd devoted some thirty years of his life to a study of public utilities, under both public and private ownership, in the course of which he visited a great number of municipalities in the United States and in Europe. In the present volume are presented that part of these studies which bears upon the history and operation of municipal gas plants in America and Europe.

The book comprises thirteen chapters, starting with the basic principles of public ownership and its world accomplishments, and ending with the opinions of eminent authorities upon the subject. The early history and development of the gas industry is traced with painstaking care and a résumé of the present scope of the industry is given. After briefly describing how gas is made the author discusses the financial aspects of the industry and points out the enormous profits derived therefrom.

That municipal ownership of gas plants has developed with considerable rapidity

in this country is shown in chapters six to eight which present a history of municipal gas plants in Virginia and Minnesota and show how the model franchise of the model gas company of Indianapolis is paving the way for eventual municipal ownership. The fight for municipal gas in Kalamazoo, Michigan, is next described and the last three chapters deal with municipal ownership in Great Britain and Germany. An appendix (seven sections) contains further interesting data and information such as the model provisions respecting franchises and public utilities in the new charter of Kalamazoo.

Everything considered Mr. Todd has written a very interesting book which stands out in the field of polemical literature because of the considerable amount of statistics and fact information with which his contentions are backed.

DORSEY W. HYDE, JR.

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**How the War Chest Started.**—One year ago last April the Baltimore chapter of the Red Cross and the Alliance of Charitable and Social Agencies decided to make a joint campaign to raise a sum of money sufficient to finance their activities for a period of three years. The plan, as worked out, practically amounted to a city war chest along the lines which have since been so widely adopted in other American cities. The pledges received totalled \$700,054.95 and the accomplishments of the first year under the plan are outlined in the trustees' report, recently issued, entitled "One Year of The Baltimore Fund."

This report is a commendable example of what can be done in the way of attractive recording of civic achievements. A foreword contains statements by Newton D. Baker and Theodore Roosevelt, commanding the Baltimore fund idea.

All things considered, Mr. Roscoe D. Edlund, secretary of the fund (McCoy Hall, Baltimore) is to be congratulated upon a very interesting piece of work.

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**War Time City Problems** is the title of the proceedings of the ninth national conference of mayors and other city offi-

cials of New York state, held at Newburgh, New York, last June. The papers do not deal so much with war-time city problems as with city problems from a war-time point of view. The pamphlet which contains 130 pages is as usual attractively made up, and will be of interest to city officials generally and especially those of New York state.

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**Brotherhood in Communities.**<sup>1</sup>—"What is being done to promote the principles of universal brotherhood in communities" is the title of a pamphlet reprinted from *Religious Education* for June, 1918, and previously read before the annual meeting of the religious education association. After citing a number of typical cases of social maladjustment, Mr. Harrison instead of attempting to describe in detail the various kinds of agencies for dealing with social problems, sketches three types of effort which embody principles and methods, one or more of which every agency uses. The first is "friendly service in the home," sometimes known as case work, represented by the charity organization society. The second type is represented by the community forum and other agencies for talk and discussion as a means of community advance. The third type of community service is the social or community survey.

"Among the many different agencies for community service are three general types: first, a service which unites, as far as possible, all the resources of the community in meeting the needs of the individual or the individual family, which provides a careful diagnosis with co-operative and friendly treatment of case upon case of abnormal family life; second, a service which leads into new paths of social advancement and community improvement through the exchange of ideas and the spread of enlightened and progressive thought; and third, a community service which would bring all the benefits of science and practical experience to bear upon social conditions, and, through care-

<sup>1</sup> By Shelby M. Harrison, director, department of surveys and exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation. Price, 10 cents.

ful analysis of complex situations and effective presentation to the public of findings and recommendations, endeavor not only to correct the wrongs, but to quicken the constructive forces that show promise."

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**Adult Probation.**<sup>1</sup>—In an address on "Current Tendencies in Adult Probation," at the National Conference of Social Work, Edwin J. Cooley, chief probation officer of the magistrates' courts of New York city, has presented an excellent epitome of the condition of probation at the present day. After emphasizing the importance of protection by the judges as

a working condition for probation officers, Mr. Cooley describes the three most important improvements in the methodology or technique of probation which are being inaugurated in New York under his direction,—the development of the case system of probational diagnosis of delinquents, the division of the staff of probation officers into a corps of investigators and a corps of supervising officers, and the establishment of a special probation term of court, presided over by a special judge who will devote his entire time to the consideration of probation problems.

LEONARD FELIX FULD, PH.D.

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##### Americanization

See also Citizenship, Reconstruction.

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR CITIZENSHIP, INC. To Americans. To all American citizens who believe, as we do, that these things must be done for America, this is a call to action. [1918.] 28 pp.

The League's address is at 50 West 12th St., New York city.

CLEVELAND. MAYOR'S ADVISORY WAR BOARD. Report of the work of the Cleveland Americanization Committee, July, 1917-July, 1918. [1918.] 10 pp.

<sup>1</sup> Current tendencies in adult probation, by Edwin J. Cooley. National Conference of Social Work, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Alice M. Holden, Wellesley College.

NATIONAL AMERICANIZATION COMMITTEE. What industrial leaders say about Americanization. [1918.] 10 pp.

Headquarters of the Committee are at 29 West 39th St., New York City.

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ESTEY (HELEN C.). Select bibliography on cost of living in the United States. (Spec. Libraries, Nov., 1918: 203-209.)

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UNIVERSITY OF IOWA. IOWA PATRIOTIC LEAGUE. Bibliography. Aug. 15, 1918. 48 pp. (Extension Bul., no. 40.)

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CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY OF BUFFALO. The roots of poverty. Forty-first annual report. 1918. 59 pp.

ROCHESTER BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH. Abstract of a report on the Department of Charities of the City of Rochester, N. Y. Survey by Francis H. McLean. 1918. 37 pp.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY (NEW YORK). COMMISSIONER OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS. First annual report, January 1, 1917, to December 31, 1917. 1918. 187 pp., plates.

The Commissioner's office is at East View, Westchester County, N. Y.

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HALL (W. CLARKE). *The state and the child.* 1918. 195 pp.

KERBY (C. EDITH). *Wage earning school children in Detroit and Grand Rapids.* (Child Labor Bul., Aug., 1918: 137-145.)

SARGENT (DUDLEY A.). *Physical welfare work with school children in war times a vital necessity of physical training for the country boy and girl.* (Child-Welfare Mag., Oct., 1918: 40-41.)

#### Citizenship

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BARNARD (J. LYNN) and EVANS (JESSIE C.), assisted by the BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH. *Citizenship in Philadelphia.* 1918. 376 pp. illus.

CLEVELAND. BOARD OF EDUCATION. DIVISION OF EDUCATIONAL EXTENSION. *Lessons on American citizenship.* By Raymond Moley. [1918.] 64 pp.

PROSSER (C. A.). *Training for citizenship through service.* (School and Soc., Sept. 7, 1918: 271-282.)

Address before the Conference of State Executives and Directors of Vocational Education, Washington, July 13, 1918.

ZEIGLER (SAMUEL H.). *Our community; good citizenship in towns and cities.* 1918. 240 pp.

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ADAMS (THOMAS). *Town planning in relation to public safety.* (Conservation of Life, Oct., 1918: 88-94.)

— and BARTHOLOMEW (HARLAND). *City planning is closely related to public safety.* (Engrng. News-Record, Sept. 26, 1918: 572-574.)

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[HOOVER (A. P.)] *City planning for small municipalities, with special reference to an industrial survey.* (Engrng. and Contracting, Sept. 4, 1918: 242-243.)

Extracts from a paper read at the last annual meeting of the City Managers' Association.

PHILADELPHIA. Annual report of the Permanent Committee on Comprehensive Plans for the year ending December 31, 1917. [1918.] 18 pp.

SAWISTOWSKY (ROScoe E.). *City planning for Iowa municipalities.* (Amer. Municipalities, Sept., 1918: 44-47, 50.)

WHITTEEN (ROBERT H.). *Principles of design for a complete system of city thoroughfares.* (Amer. City, Oct., 1918: 257-261. diagrams.)

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CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION OF PENNSYLVANIA. *Summary of state civil service bill and reasons for its enactment.* [1918.] 8 pp.

This pamphlet may be had on application to the Association, 810 Otis Bldg., Philadelphia.

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ANON. *Empty saloons as community centers.* (Social Service Rev., Oct., 1918: 19-20.)

CLARKE (IDA CLYDE). *The little democracy, a text-book on community organization.* With introduction by P. P. Claxton. 1918. 252 pp.

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JACKSON (HENRY E.). *A community center; what it is and how to organize it.* 1918. 159 pp. illus.

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UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. *Prisoners and juvenile delinquents in the United States, 1910.* 1918. 535 pp.

#### County Government

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MORGAN (O. S.). *Co-operation between county and city.* (Columbia Univ. Quart., Apr., 1918: 116-124.)

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NEW YORK CITY. DEPARTMENT OF DOCKS. *Statement of Hon. Murray Hulbert, covering the requirements of the Department of Docks, during the years 1918, 1919, 1920 and 1921.* Submitted to C. L. Craig, Comptroller and Chairman

of the Committees on Finance and Budget and on Port and Terminal Facilities of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. Oct. 7, 1918. 26 pp.

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See also Americanization, Schools, Vocational Guidance.

COCKS (O. G.). Motion pictures in educational institutions. (Lib. Jour., Oct., 1918: 762-763.)

HART (JOSEPH K.). Democracy in education; a social interpretation of the history of education. 1918. 418 pp.

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NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION. COMMISSION ON THE EMERGENCY IN EDUCATION. A national program for education. 1918. 27 pp. (Commission series, no. 1.)

Headquarters of the Association are at 1400 Mass. Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

—. Commission on the National Program in Education. A national program for education. Statistical data relative to the distribution of federal grants, as proposed by Senate Bill 4987. 1918. [14 pp.] (Commission series, no. 2.)

SMITH (WALTER R.). A program for socializing education. (Educ. Rev., Oct., 1918: 199-214.)

UNITED STATES. SENATE. A bill to create a Department of Education, to appropriate money for the conduct of said department, to appropriate money for federal co-operation with the states in encouragement and support of education, and for other purposes. Oct. 10, 1918. 18 pp. (65th Cong., 2d sess., Sen. 14987.)

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ANON. Direct primaries and direct nominations. (Equity, Oct., 1918: 207-211.)

Lists of states having some form of direct primary election, and nomination laws.

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, AKRON. Efficiency of the Akron voter. Oct. 21, 1918. [28 pp.] tables, typewritten.

HOWE (JOHN B.). The eve of election; facts and hints for voters new and old. 1918. 283 pp.

#### Elevators

NEW YORK CITY. BOARD OF STANDARDS AND APPEALS. Elevator rules. Rules for the construction, maintenance and operation of elevators. Adopted July 30, 1918, effective August 26, 1918. [1918.] 16 pp. (Supplement to Bul., III, no. 25.)

#### Excess Condemnation

CHICAGO. BUREAU OF PUBLIC EFFICIENCY. Excess condemnation. Why the city of Chicago should have the power, in making public improvements, to take property in excess of actual requirements. Sept., 1918. 58 pp. illus.

Copies may be secured from the Bureau, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

#### Feeble-minded

CALIFORNIA. STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS. Surveys in men-

tal deviation in prisons, public schools, and orphanages in California. 1918. 87 pp.

HASTINGS (G. A.). Registration of the feeble-minded. [1918.] 15 pp. (State Charities Aid Assoc. of N. Y., Com. on Mental Hygiene.)

Read before the Mental Hygiene Section of the National Conference of Social Work, May 16, 1918.

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CANADA. COMMISSION OF CONSERVATION. Fire waste in Canada. By J. Grove Smith. 1918. 319 pp.

GASSER (C. A.). Fire prevention exhibits. (Safety Engrng., Sept., 1918: 185-190.)

GILLENWATERS (E. M.). Ignorance, carelessness and indifference as fire causes. (Fire and Water Engrng., Oct. 23, 1918: 298-299.)

MALLALIEU (W. E.). A fire a minute—and why. (Amer. City, Nov., 1918: 371-375. illus.)

NEW YORK CITY. MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE. The war's effect on fire hazard; special report by the Committee on Risks and Insurance. [1918.] 8 pp.

—. MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. [Fire prevention day in war time.] (Notes, Oct. 23, 1918: 66-75.)

Contains, among other things, notes of publications on the subject of fire prevention.

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ANON. Should city fire service be furnished free to suburban communities not provided with fire protection? The question answered by chiefs from all sections of the country showing that assistance is generally given without compensation to the department that renders it. (Fire and Water Engrng., Sept. 25, 1918: 226-228.)

—. Fire brigade co-operation [in England]. (Mun. Jour. [London], Aug. 9, 1918: 821.)

DAUNTLESS CLUB OF THE BROOKLYN FIRE DEPARTMENT. Statistics of fire departments. 1918. 36 pp.

For sale, at 25 cents, by Mr. J. F. Flood, president, Fire Headquarters, Court and Staats Sts., Brooklyn, N. Y.

NEW YORK CITY. BOARD OF STANDARDS AND APPEALS. Sprinkler systems. Rules for fire extinguishing appliances. Adopted May 24, 1917, effective June 27, 1917, amended May 2, 1918. [1918.] pp. 35-48. (Supplement to Bul., III, no. 37.)

—. Fire alarm rules; smoking in factories; fire escape rules. 1918. pp. 18-32. (Supplement to Bul., III, no. 36.)

—. Rules of procedure; fire retarding construction; revolving doors. [1918.] pp. 51-64. (Supplement to Bul., III, no. 38.)

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. Statistics of fire departments of cities having a population of over 30,000, 1917. 1918. 105 pp.

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CARSON (J. S.). The "Philadelphia plan" of coal allotment. How the heating trade in Philadelphia successfully co-operated with the Fuel Administration in developing a highly-successful scheme of fuel distribution. (Heating and Ventilating Mag., Oct., 1918: 17-30.)

UNITED STATES. FUEL ADMINISTRATION. Fuel facts. Second edition. Information for consumers and savers of fuel. Oct., 1918. 64 pp.

## Housing

See also Reconstruction.

ANON. The design of street improvements in war-time industrial housing development. (Amer. City, Nov., 1918: 355-359. illus.)

Describes the policy of the Engineering Division of the Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation, U. S. Department of Labor.

—. The housing problem of Dublin. A remarkable report: "board of representatives" suggested. (Mun. Jour. [London], Aug. 30, 1918: 887-888.)

—. The government's housing terms. Report of Manchester [England] Conference Committee. (Mun. Jour. [London], Sept. 20, 1918: 947-948.)

GEBHART (JOHN C.). Housing standards in Brooklyn. An intensive study of the housing records of 3227 workingmen's families. Oct., 1918. 60 pp.

Published by the Tenement House Committee of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, 69 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

ENGLAND. HOUSING IN ENGLAND AND WALES; memorandum by the Advisory Housing Panel on the emergency problem. 1918. 15 pp.

—. ROYAL COMMISSION ON HOUSING IN SCOTLAND. Special report on the design, construction, and materials of various types of small dwelling-houses in Scotland. 1917. 44 pp. +10 plans.

GROBEN (W. E.). Union Park Gardens. A model garden city for industrial workers at Wilmington, Del. (Arch., Sept., 1918: 248-250. plans. illus.)

WELSH HOUSING AND DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION. The Welsh housing and development year book, 1918. Ed. by E. L. Chappell. [1918.] 142 pp. plans. illus.

A record of the principal housing activities of 1917 and of the proposals for new legislation by various organizations, with other articles on housing and city planning by competent contributors; principally with reference to Wales.

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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION. Review of labor legislation of 1918. (Amer. Labor Leg. Rev., Sept., 1918: 235-275.)

FLORENCE (P. S.). Use of factory statistics in the investigation of industrial fatigue; a manual for field research. 1918. 153 pp. diagr. (Columbia Univ. Studies in Hist., Econ., and Pub. Law.)

## Libraries

The Library; and the Museum Therein. Vol. i, no. 1, Jy., 1918. Published by the Newark Public Library, Newark, N. J.

This is a new periodical publication to acquaint the Newark public with the advantages and opportunities of the city's library.

MITCHELL (ALMA C.). The library of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey. (Spec. Libraries, Nov., 1918: 200-201.)

## Lighting

See also Municipal Ownership, Public Utilities.

ANON. Cost of service plan has in some instances been applied to lighting companies. H. C. Clark discusses some aspects of the plan and puts the question: is it not a step towards stabilizing the relations between utilities and their communities? (Amer. Gas Engrng. Jour., Nov. 16, 1918: 471-476.)

—. United States Fuel Administration's program for abolishing inefficient types of incandescent lamps. By substituting highly efficient lamps for the carbon and gem types, a saving of one million tons of coal a year is estimated. (Gen. Elec. Rev., Oct., 1918: 685-688.)

HAFERKORN (H. E.). Searchlights; a short annotated bibliography of their design and their use in peace and war. (Spec. Libraries, Sept.-Oct., 1918: 172-176.)

HOGUE (O. R.) AND OTHERS. Illuminating engineering as a commercial force. Some evidence of its importance and utility in the central station field [with discussion]. (Trans., Illuminating Engrng. Soc., Oct. 10, 1918: 357-367.)

KANSAS CITY (Mo.). CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. SPECIAL GAS COMMITTEE. A proposed solution of the gas problem. A report . . . prepared by the Department of Civics. May, 1918. 31 pp.

LINCOLN (E. E.). The results of municipal electric lighting in Massachusetts. 1918. 484 pp. (Hart, Schaffner and Marx Prize Essay in Economics.)

SAJOUS (C. E. DE M.). The relation of light to health. (Jour. Engrs' Club of Philadelphia, Sept., 1918: 440-443.)

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THOMPSON (G. L.). Street lighting with reference to the manufacturer, the central station, and the municipality. (Gen. Elec. Rev., Oct., 1918: 679-681.)

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ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK. National conference on war economy. A series of addresses and papers presented at the National Conference on War Economy held . . . in New York, July 5-6, 1918. 1918. 134 pp. (Proceedings, Jy., 1918.)

Contains many papers on financial policies in state and city, and in general.

ANON. Municipal law in British Columbia to be revised. B. C. Commissioners recommend Local Government Board—four classes of municipalities—stricter control over municipal government. (West. Mun. News, Oct., 1918: 268-270.)

—. How our big cities do things. A comparative study of the existing forms of municipal government in our large cities. [San Francisco. Buffalo.] (Equity, Oct., 1918: 191-202.)

BERNARD (AUGUSTIN). L'organisation communale des Indigènes de l'Algérie. (Révue Politique et Parlementaire, Aug., Sept., 1918: 140-151, 227-246.)

CANDLER (MARTHA). The better cities which the war camp community service is building. (Amer. City, Oct., 1918: 262-265. illus.)

CITY CLUB OF LOS ANGELES. City Club Committee recommendations concerning thirty-nine propositions to be voted upon November 5th. [10 pp.] (Effective Citizenship, Oct. 30, 1918.)

CONFERENCE OF MAYORS AND OTHER CITY OFFICIALS OF NEW YORK STATE. Proceedings of Ninth Annual Conference. War-time city problems. 1918. 130 pp.

Mr. W. P. Capes is secretary of the Conference, Albany, N. Y.

COOKE (MORRIS L.). Our cities awake: notes on municipal activities and administration. 351 pp. illus., pls., pors., plan.

EHRHARD (AUGUSTE). Les œuvres de l'hôtel de ville pendant la guerre. 1918. 261 pp.

SAN FRANCISCO. BOARD OF ELECTION COMMISSIONERS. Proposed charter amendments to be submitted November 5, 1918. 1918. 30 pp.

Of the 22 amendments proposed, the voters adopted 12 dealing with a variety of subjects.

WOODRUFF (C. R.). Municipalities after the war. (N. J. Municipalities, Sept., 1918: 209-210, 219-220.)

—. Municipal preparedness for war and peace in the United States. (Can. Mun. Jour., Nov., 1918: 364, 374-376.)

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See also Bibliographies.

KOINER (C. W.). Contract for municipal purchase of competing electric distribution system. (Trans., Amer. Soc. of Mun. Improvements, 1917-18: 124-127.)

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP LEAGUE OF AMERICA. Municipal ownership. With a special survey of municipal gas plants in America and Europe. By Albert M. Todd. 1918. 122 pp.

The League may be addressed at 1439 Unity Bldg., Chicago.

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HUBBARD (PRÉVOST). Standardization of pavement design and construction. (Mun. and Cy. Engrng., Nov., 1918: 181-183. tables.)

KINNEY (W. M.). Pavement gage measures surface irregularities. Study of specifications for smoothness leads to invention of new device—present requirements too severe. (Engrng. News-Record, Oct. 17, 1918: 708-710.)

KRUG (F. S.). Preservative effects of macadam surface treatments applied primarily as dust layers. (Mun. and Cy. Engrng., Oct., 1918: 147-148.)

ROUTH (JAMES W.). The maintenance of asphalt pavements by the cut and replace method. (Mun. and Cy. Engrng., Nov., 1918: 164-168. illus.)

Has special reference to Rochester, N. Y.

SPRAGUE (N. S.). Pavement construction and maintenance considered. Planning for reconstruction period. (Engrng. News-Record, Oct. 10, 1918: 663.)

UNITED STATES. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE. Typical specifications for non-bituminous road materials. By Prévost Hubbard and Frank H. Jackson, Jr. 1918. 40 pp. (Bul. 704.)

#### Public Health

See also Lighting.

ANON. A sanitary survey of a city. Features of municipal activity and of community and individual interests covered by such survey—Mortality statistics—Health department records—Communicable diseases—Food supply—Water supply—Sewerage and lack of it—Garbage collection and disposal—Nuisances. (Mun. Jour., Nov. 9, 16, 1918: 359-361, 382-386, illus.)

BROADHURST (JEAN). Home and community hygiene; a text-book of personal and public health. 1918. 428 pp. illus., tables, diagrs.

DAVIS (MICHAEL M.) and WARNER (ANDREW R.). Dispensaries, their management and development; a book for administrators, public health workers, and all interested in better medical service for the people. 1918. 438 pp. illus. Bibliography, pp. 406-414.

MONTREAL. MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH. Report of the Municipal Department of Hygiene and Statistics, 1917, 1918. 132 pp.

NORTH (C. E.). Farmers' clean milk book. 1918. 132 pp. illus.

SEYMOUR (GERTRUDE). A summary of new public health measures for combating venereal disease. (Social Hygiene, Jy., 1918: 389-394.)

SQUIRE (AMOS O.). Penal institution hospital treatment of venereal diseases. (Jour. of Crim. Law and Criminology, Aug., 1918: 253-259.)

STUDIES FROM THE HELEN S. TROUNSTINE FOUNDATION. Blindness in Hamilton County. A summary of the activities, laws, and statistics relating to blindness, with special reference to the administra-

tion of the law regulating "The Relief of the Needy Blind." By Dr. Louis Stricker. Sept., 1918. 109 pp.

Copies may be had on application to the Foundation at the Neave Bldg., Cincinnati.

UNITED STATES. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE. Venereal disease legislation. A compilation of laws and regulations showing the trend of modern legislation for the control of venereal diseases. Jan. 18, 1918. 32 pp. (U. S. Pub. Health Repts., Reprint no. 450.)

—. Progress in venereal disease control. By J. G. Wilson. May 24, 1918. 6 pp. (U. S. Pub. Health Repts., Reprint no. 468.)

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WOODRUFF (C. R.). Training for the public service. (N. J. Municipalities, Nov., 1918: 265-266, 280-282.)

#### Public Utilities

See also Libraries, Lighting.

ALVORD (J. W.). What sound valuations should accomplish is to create and maintain good service by the utility at reasonable rates. (Amer. Gas Engrng. Jour., Oct. 12, 1918: 339-342.)

ANON. Opinions accompanying recent rate increases. Some of the important price changes made by state commissions and the courts during 1917 relating to increase in gas rates. (Gas Age, Oct. 1, 1918: 301-303.)

—. Jurisdiction over rates. Discussion as to municipalities' powers over gas rates. The court held that jurisdiction was transferred to the Montana Public Utilities Commission by the Public Utilities Act. (Gas Age, Oct. 1, 1918: 304.)

From the decision in the case of *State ex. rel. Billings v. Billings Gas Co.*, Montana Supreme Court, 173 Pac. 799.

LAMBERT (C. F.). Rate regulation in war times. (Amer. Municipalities, Sept., 1918: 51-52.)

LEDOUX (J. W.). The economics of public utilities extensions. (Amer. City, Oct., 1918: 293-295.)

RAYMOND (W. G.). Cost of service the chief factor in rate regulation. Rational "fair value" is held to be sum of interest on investment and profit on operating expenses, capitalized at "fair return" rate. (Engrng. News-Record, Sept. 5, 1918: 451-454.)

#### Reconstruction

See also Americanization, Municipal Government, Pavements, Roads.

ANON. Outline studies on the problems of the reconstruction period. Prepared by a Special Committee. 1918. 39 pp.

Published by the Association Press, 347 Madison Ave., New York, and sold at 25 cents a copy. It contains brief bibliographies on all the topics included.

—. Reconstruction in France; the competition by French architects for the creation of types of rural dwellings. (Jour. of the Amer. Inst. of Archs., Oct., 1918.)

—. Municipal officers after the war. (Mun. Jour. [London], Mar. 8, 1918: 263-264.)

—. A city set on a hill. An account of the First American Conference on Reconstruction Problems, Rochester, November 20-22. (Survey, Nov. 30, 1918: 241-242.)

INTERNATIONAL FORUM ASSOCIATION. *Bulletin*. Monthly. No. 1, October, 1918.

A new periodical which deals with problems of Americanization and of reconstruction generally. The Association's address is 12 West 11th St., New York City.

MCBAIN (HOWARD L.). The need for a municipal program. 1918. pp. 111-113.

Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, July, 1918.

MINNEAPOLIS CIVIC AND COMMERCE ASSOCIATION. Land for returning soldiers.

Abstract of the Proceedings of a Conference representing the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota and Montana, at Minneapolis, Aug. 30 and 31, 1918.

NATIONAL SINGLE TAX LEAGUE. The bulletin of reconstruction. Oct., 1918. 32 pp.

Headquarters of the League are at 56 East Johnson St., Philadelphia.

NEW YORK CITY. MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY. Municipal reconstruction in America. (Notes, Nov. 13, 1918. 90-100.)

Includes references to literature on reconstruction, pp. 94-100.

—. COMMUNITY COUNCILS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE. A call from the nation to the people of the city. [1918.] 4 pp.

ROCHESTER BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH. A municipal reconstruction program. Oct., 1918. 14 pp.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION. LIBRARY. Reconstruction. Oct., 1918. [4 pp.] (Bul. no. 31.)

A bibliography.

STEIN (C. S.). Housing and reconstruction. (Jour. of the Amer. Inst. of Archs., Oct., 1918: 469-472.)

UNITED STATES. SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR. Annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1918. December, 1918. 31 pp., chart.

Deals particularly with reconstruction problems and especially that of the returning soldiers.

—. —. Draft of bill proposed for co-operation between the states and the United States to provide employment and homes for soldiers, sailors, and marines, under which the states shall furnish the lands and the United States the funds; with an alternative proposition so that the states may participate further in furnishing funds and also in supervising the improvement and settlement of the lands. December, 1918. 4 pp.

—. —. Farms for returned soldiers. Outline of plan for development of arid, swamp, and other unused lands. 1918. 24 pp.

—. **SENATE.** Homes for returning soldiers and sailors. Report from the Committee on Public Lands. Oct., 1918. 8 pp. (65th Cong., 2d sess., Rept. no. 580.)

**WOODRUFF** (C. R.). After-war problems—respective obligations of national, state and local governments. (*Amer. City*, Nov., 1918: 352-354.)

#### Refuse and Garbage Disposal

See also Public Health.

**ANON.** Does wealth lie in Seattle's garbage? Facts v. theory. (*Civil Service Age*, Sept., 1918: 4-6.)

**CAFPES** (W. P.) and **CARPENTER** (JEANNE D.). Municipal housekeeping. 1918. 231 pp. tables, statistics.

This book deals chiefly with the principles and methods followed in many American cities in disposing of garbage, sewage, ashes, rubbish, etc.

**PETERSON** (ARTHUR E.). Refuse collection in Spokane. (*Mun. Jour.*, Nov. 16, 1918: 381-382. illus.)

#### Roads and Highways

See also City Planning, Housing.

**GOODELL** (J. M.). The location, construction and maintenance of roads. 1918. 213 pp. diagr., tables.

Reprinted from *Good Roads Year Book*, 1917.

**LANE** (FRANKLIN K.). Land reclamation and highway development must go together. (*Mun. and Cy. Engrng.*, Nov., 1918: 183-185.)

Address before Conference of Regional Chairmen of the Highways Transport Committee, Council of National Defence, Sept. 17, 1918.

**REDFIELD** (WILLIAM C.). Highway development as important as railroad and waterway development. (*Mun. and Cy. Engrng.*, Nov., 1918: 170-172.)

#### Schools

See also Accounting, Child Welfare.

**BLISS** (D. C.). Methods and standards for local school surveys. 1918. 264 pp.

**BOSTON. SCHOOL COMMITTEE. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL INVESTIGATION AND MEASUREMENT.** A plan for the promotion of teachers from merit lists. 1918. 63 pp. (School doc. no. 2—1918.)

**BYRNE** (LEE). The apportionment of funds in a combined city-and-county school system. (*Amer. School Bd. Jour.*, Oct., 1918: 35-36, 77.)

**CALVERT** (A. C.). Public schools in the new war cities. (*Amer. City*, Nov., 1918: 360-362. illus.)

**CHALLMAN** (S. A.). The public schools of Rochester, Minnesota. (*Amer. School Bd. Jour.*, Oct., 1918: 29-31. illus.)

**DEFFENBAUGH** (W. S.). Recent improvements in city school administration. (*Amer. School Bd. Jour.*, Oct., 1918: 23-24.)

**FOGARTY** (W. S.). Transportation of school children. (*Amer. School Bd. Jour.*, Nov., 1918: 25-27, 69-70.)

**GRAY** (WILLIAM S.). The work of elementary-school principals. (*Elementary School Jour.*, Sept., 1918: 24-35.)

**GREESON** (WILLIAM A.). The school census and its use in school administration. (*Elementary School Jour.*, Sept., 1918: 14-23.)

**HAWKINS** (JOHN R.). Play supervision in the public schools. (*Educ.*, Oct., 1918: 84-89. illus.)

**HILLEGAS** (MILLO B.). The organization of junior high schools in small communities. (*Teachers Coll. Record*, Sept., 1918: 336-344.)

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# NOTES AND EVENTS

## I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

**Proposed Progressive Policies in Indiana.**—The program of the Republican members of the legislature, who constitute a large majority in both branches, was discussed at two recent conferences, one of the Republican senators and one of the Republican representatives. Governor Goodrich attended both conferences and urged that platform promises be carried out promptly. He discussed the platform pledges, and made a number of suggestions in addition. The platform commits the party to constitutional amendments and to bills in the line of the short ballot, tax reform, a larger measure of home rule for cities, social insurance investigation, good roads, reform in court procedure to give judges more latitude in reformation of criminals, better supervision of the physical condition of children in the schools, the budget system, and power of the governor to veto single items in the general appropriation bill.

A resolution was adopted at both conferences authorizing the governor and lieutenant governor to appoint joint committees of Republican members of the house and senate to prepare bills in keeping with the platform so that they may be introduced early in the session, which begins the first week in January.

The short ballot principle appears in that part of the program, which provides for making the offices of attorney general, state superintendent of public instruction and clerk of the supreme court appointive instead of elective and for combining in a conservation commission the offices of state geologist, commissioner of fisheries and game, state veterinarian, and state entomologist and for turning the duties of the state oil inspection department over to the food and drug department. The office of state geologist who appoints the oil inspectors is now elective. The offices of state commissioner of fisheries and game, state veterinarian and state entomologist

are now appointive, and it is proposed to concentrate their duties under one commission. In part, then, the program is for the short ballot and in part for reducing the number of appointive offices, although the proposal to make certain offices which are now elective appointive will increase the number of appointive offices.

Legislative acts will suffice to make the offices of attorney general, state superintendent of public instruction and state geologist appointive because those offices were created by statute and not by the constitution. A constitutional amendment will be required to make the office of clerk of the supreme court appointive. It is proposed that the clerk be appointed by the supreme and appellate courts. No sensible reason has been advanced for keeping this office on the ballot, inasmuch as the duties are mostly clerical and are not such as to engage public interest. It is also proposed that the state board of education appoint the state superintendent of public instruction as a means of keeping the office out of party politics and making surer of a superintendent of high educational qualifications.

The Indiana constitution is not easy to amend. A proposed amendment must be approved by two consecutive sessions of the legislature before being submitted to a vote of the people, and the supreme court of this state has held that to carry, an amendment must receive a majority of all votes cast at the election. It does not carry if it receives a majority on the question, if that majority is not as great as the majority of all votes cast at the election.

The legislature of 1917 started two amendments, one for woman suffrage and one to prohibit the increase of salary or term during the term for which an official was elected. Ordinarily these amendments would come up for approval next January by the 1919 legislature and would

be submitted at the 1920 regular election, or at a special election should the legislature decide to call one. It is proposed to reject these two amendments, and start them again next January along with the amendments required to carry out the Republican platform of 1918.

To enable the governor to veto single items in the general appropriation bill a constitutional amendment is necessary. Still others are necessary to open the way to the adoption of the budget system, taxation reform, and to authorize the legislature to classify counties for registration purposes so as to make it unnecessary for "smaller counties to register their vote."

Among bills included in the program is one to enable soldiers to vote in the field. Some of them voted this year under an absent voter's law passed in 1917, but in some respects it is not adapted to soldier's voting.

The plank on home rule for cities is as follows:

We reaffirm the party's declaration for a larger measure of home rule for cities and the enactment of a law that will permit cities to adopt commission or city-manager forms of government.

The good roads law of 1917 under which federal aid was to be received has been held unconstitutional by a lower court, and the matter is now pending in the supreme court. A substitute for this law has been proposed. While it is not strictly in the legislative program and is not mentioned in the platform, the governor has suggested the advisability of expending about \$40,000,000 on roads in the next five years, the money to be derived from the inheritance tax. It is submitted that such a measure would furnish post-war employment.

The program as approved includes a plank in the platform reaffirming the party's declaration for equal suffrage, asking congress to approve a federal amendment to that end, and committing the party to ratification by the Indiana legislature.

It is expected that the national "dry" amendment will be ratified shortly after the legislature convenes. The state is now "dry" by state law.

The governor recommended, and the legislators in conference applauded, proposed passage of the general appropriation bill in the first 30 days of the 60 day session, in order that ample time may be left to consider revenue measures to provide the amounts in the appropriation bill.

With all the legislative and executive branches of the state government in the hands of the Republicans, it is probable that most of the program will be carried out.

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**The Municipal Policy of the Non-Partisan League.**<sup>1</sup> The fundamental point in the Non-Partisan League policy toward cities is that these organized farmers seek alliances with labor and other advanced elements of the city. Consequently the league strength will be found at all times back of what these advanced or progressive elements want. The farmers rely on these classes in the city to express their own aspirations first, and it would be bad manners at least for the farmers to try to tell the city people what they ought to work for politically.

Everywhere in the northwest, for instance, the progressive city people are demanding home rule and the Non-Partisan League will be found back of them on this issue. The league has recently made it a plank in the Montana platform. In that state the state house rule has been especially vicious, being used as a means of keeping cities from adopting municipal ownership and of foisting upon them gang rule in other essential matters. North Dakota where the league has been in practical control for two years, voted amendments to the constitution brought out under league auspices, that will among other things pave the way for home rule. Home rule is a very big piece of municipal policy. It will go across in those states in which the league wins out, easily because the opponents of home rule are not the plain people but the special interests operating under many different aliases.

Another important point is the effect

<sup>1</sup>See article "The Non-Partisan League," by A. B. Gilbert, vol. vii, July issue, p. 379.

the working out of the league program will have on cities. With government ownership of the railroads properly administered, state owned cold storage plants, elevators, packing houses, and mills will result in a rebirth of local markets and industry. The little cities of the agricultural states will be performing services that are now performed by the distant large cities with the absurdly costly long railhauls.

The principle of exempting farm improvements from taxation will without doubt be speedily extended to city improvements also. The amendments voted on in North Dakota provide for such exemption.

A. B. GILBERT.

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**A Gubernatorial Complaint Box.**—Governor Westmoreland Davis of Virginia is establishing many new precedents, most of which are designed to bring the state government closer to the people. In the words of his secretary Colonel LeRoy Hodges "persons who have suggestions as to how the state's government could be bettered, those who have a 'big kick' to register, those with simply a 'complaint' to make and those who are critically inclined are invited by Governor Davis to let him have their suggestions, kicks, complaints and criticism in writing, and he will have each carefully investigated. Where it is found the state's service can be improved, these suggestions will be followed up and due credit given to those who offer them. The governor especially asks for suggestions from all state officials and employees."

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**City Manager Notes.**—Two more well-known cities have adopted commission-manager charters. *Akron, Ohio*, with a population approximating 100,000 approved the new plan November 5 by a vote of 11,584 to 6,233. (See *infra*.) *Auburn, New York*, with an estimated population of 40,000 entered the new field the same day, but the plan does not become effective until January, 1920. The vote was 3,317 to 2,643. *Fresno, California*, also adopted the city-manager form on November 5.

Two Canadian cities are now operating under the manager plan. *Westmount, Province of Quebec*, has had a city manager since 1913, George W. Thompson holding the office. *Kamloops, British Columbia*, appointed J. J. Carment as manager this fall at a salary of \$3,000.

*Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan*, has appointed Wilder M. Rich as city manager to succeed J. H. Moore who resigned in August. Mr. Rich has served as city engineer at the Soo for some little time and was favorably considered for the manager's chair when the plan was first adopted. Mr. Moore is now manager of the industrial town of Nitrate, West, Virginia.

Two changes are reported from Texas. Jeff D. Bartlett succeeds A. D. Armstrong at *Amarillo* and H. J. Greaser follows Clay Hight at *Tyler*. *Stamford, Texas*, is also reported as operating under the new plan with Edgar A. Burrow as manager.

*Goldsboro, North Carolina*, has appointed I. M. Cashell as manager to succeed E. A. Beck who entered the Service this fall. Mr. Cashell was promoted from the position of health officer and bacteriologist. His salary is \$3000. *Elizabeth, City, North Carolina*; W. A. Jones succeeds J. C. Commander as manager. *Thomasville, North Carolina*; Ira Johnson has been appointed acting manager. *Ocala, Florida*; H. C. Caldwell has been appointed to succeed J. N. Johnston as manager. *Morris, Minnesota*; F. J. Haight was appointed manager October 1, 1918, following S. A. Siverts, Jr., who had served four years. *Phillipsburg, Pa.* has elected the managing secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, J. B. Wiles, as borough manager.

The borough of *Ambridge, Pennsylvania*, and the village of *Wilmette, Illinois*, have created the positions of manager by ordinance. H. B. Hunter, formerly professor of science at Grinnell College and at the College of Wooster, Ohio, is borough manager at Ambridge; salary, \$4,500. Mr. Forester is serving as village superintendent at Wilmette. Three other cities are reported to have managers but in-

formation is incomplete. They are *Thermopolis, Wyoming*; *J. B. Chessington; Ontario, California*; *F. E. Alford; Columbus, Montana*; *Fred Fahrion*.

The following cities are reported to be planning campaigns for commission-manager charters; *Glens Falls, Corning and Gloversville, New York*; *Middleboro, Massachusetts*; *Bristol, Virginia*; *Ames, Iowa*; *Shawnee, Oklahoma*; *Austin and White-wright, Texas*.

Manager C. A. Bingham of *Waltham, Massachusetts*, has started the publication of a municipal bulletin. The first issue appeared in November and its purpose is set forth under the title as follows: "Being an attempt on the part of the city employees to foster goodfellowship and co-operation between city departments; and with the aid of interested citizens to improve our city. Each department and also the city employees union has a contributor. Published occasionally for free distribution. Articles and suggestions can be addressed to The Bulletin, City Hall, Waltham, Massachusetts. Anonymous can be addressed The Waste Basket."

The first issue is full of good things and the second, which has just appeared, indicates that the publication is performing a very real service. William T. Hunter has been appointed city manager of *Roanoke, Virginia*; salary, \$4,800.

HARRISON GRAY OTIS.

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**A Municipal Reconstruction Program for St. Louis.**—The St. Louis civic league has just adopted a municipal reconstruction program, based on its general platform adopted last year to oppose special privilege in government. It is as follows:

Not the least of the problems of post-war reconstruction is that of municipal reconstruction. The public utility question alone in municipalities is of great importance. Unless urgent and forceful methods are taken to readjust conditions in cities the country will be thrown into a state of instability and disturbance. The new significance which has been given to the term democracy requires a speedy attention to city governmental conditions. The civic league, in accordance with its platform of principles, seeks to combat

special privilege in government and to improve local conditions. The various combinations of difficulties facing honesty and efficiency in local government, as we see it, arise from causes which are all part of one cause—special privilege in government.

To weaken special privilege and secure honesty and efficiency in local government, the League has pledged itself to the following general program:

First: It will carefully look into the record of all candidates for public office, publishing the facts for the guidance of the voters of the city, in order that they may be able to judge of the merits and abilities of candidates, and of their intentions to serve all the people or a favored few.

Second: It will strive for the perfection and adoption of such a system of elections as will enable public spirited citizens to go into public office unpledged to serve any interest except that of the general public.

Third: It will study the problems of municipal life and government as they obtain in other cities as well as in our own, in order to learn, make public and secure the adoption of means by which St. Louis will become a more wholesome, a healthier and a happier place in which to live and prosper.

On the basis of the above, we specifically stand in our reconstruction work for the following definite steps:

1. Municipal ownership as the final solution of the confused utility situation.
2. The short ballot and the secret ballot.
3. Proportional representation in our municipal assembly.
4. Non-partisan system of municipal elections.

5. Revision of municipal court system.

6. Full and fearless publicity in regard to candidates for public office, with specific recommendations of the most desirable.

7. To remove technical obstacles to any of the above steps, the immediate creation of a state constitutional convention.

Step by step we hope to push forward the above measures. In all earnestness of purpose, we ask the co-operation of earnest men and women in St. Louis in accomplishing these objects.

L. F. BUDENZ.

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**California's Constitutional Amendments.**

**San Francisco Consolidation.**—The final results on the propositions voted on by the people of California at the recent election have just been published. The figures follow.

No. 1—Liquor regulation . . . . .	236,778	341,897
No. 2—Deposit of public moneys . . . . .	239,203	180,856
No. 3—Usury law . . . . .	231,147	212,207
No. 4—Absent voters . . . . .	189,845	252,387
No. 5—County government . . . . .	195,998	183,610
No. 6—Courts . . . . .	86,132	274,231
No. 7—Los Angeles County funds . . . . .	183,994	178,970
No. 8—University of California . . . . .	249,886	148,305
No. 9—Appellate court divisions . . . . .	188,243	169,803
No. 10—Borough governments . . . . .	179,627	171,735
No. 11—Exemption cemeteries . . . . .	170,296	302,325
No. 12—Reimbursing cities . . . . .	115,727	262,421
No. 13—Condemnation of rights of way . . . . .	212,011	179,976
No. 14—Taxation exemptions . . . . .	186,486	290,573
No. 15—State budget board . . . . .	96,820	261,311
No. 16—City of Venice indebtedness . . . . .	188,349	167,647
No. 17—Tax levy limitations . . . . .	127,634	259,626
No. 18—School tax limitations . . . . .	167,049	227,953
No. 19—Land values taxation . . . . .	118,088	360,334
No. 20—Health Insurance . . . . .	133,858	358,324
No. 21—Dentistry . . . . .	200,475	314,713
No. 22—Prohibition . . . . .	275,643	306,488
No. 23—Workman's compensation . . . . .	229,974	224,517
No. 24—Stockholders' liability . . . . .	178,355	196,948
No. 25—Eminent domain . . . . .	138,131	228,324

Ten amendments carried, fifteen were defeated. Of the amendments which passed the one of most significance from our point of view is number five which opens the way for the final steps of the consolidation of the cities on the East side of San Francisco Bay into a consolidated city and county. It provides in substance: That a board of freeholders may be elected to prepare a charter for the consolidated city and county which charter will be submitted to the voters at the same time that the consolidation proposition is submitted. This does away with the general obstacle we have heretofore met; that of unwillingness on the part of the people to commit themselves to a consolidation without knowing its terms.

The other measures of interest from the municipal point of view, which were adopted, are the deposit of public moneys—a measure which gives the legislature power to determine the conditions under which public money should be deposited;—a measure for the relief of certain cities, Los Angeles and Venice, which had by error violated certain of the financial restrictions of the constitution. The most important among the measures defeated, from a municipal point of view, was the last proposition on the ballot which provided for excess condemnation.

THOMAS H. REED.

**Constitutional Revision in Illinois.**—The advisory referendum on the subject of a new constitution for Illinois was carried by a majority of all the male voters of November 5. The next step will be the call of an election to elect the delegates. This will be determined by the legislature which meets January 1. Judge Orrin C. Carter of the supreme court, who was chairman of the committee in charge of the campaign, writes that he assumes the election of 102 delegates, two from each senatorial district, will be held sometime next summer or autumn. The campaign committee was continued and nine men were appointed to report as to the plan to be recommended to assist in choosing the best men for delegates.

The delegates must be "elected in the same manner, at the same places and in the same districts" as members of the senate. According to a statement by the Chicago city club, "Differences of interpretation of this last requirement may have an important bearing on the character and personnel of the convention. A non-partisan election of delegates with nomination by petition is generally conceded to be desirable as a means of eliminating party bias from the deliberations of the convention. If only constitutional provisions for the election of members of the senate must be observed in the election of delegates there is no legal obstacle to the adoption of such a scheme. If, on the other hand, all statutory provisions must be observed, the election will have to be on present party lines, and possibly even nominations will have to be made in party primaries. Precedent in the framing of the present and former constitutions of Illinois supports the view that statutory provisions must be taken into account. On the other hand, arguments based on divisions of the courts and the precedent set by Ohio in holding a non-partisan election for delegates to its constitutional convention are presented to sustain the former interpretation. This is one of the difficulties which the legislature will have to iron out in preparing its call for the

election. There is no provision in the constitution which determines the date for the election of delegates, unless the clause previously quoted be interpreted to mean that delegates must be chosen at the same time as members of the senate. Neither logic nor precedent, however, seems to justify this interpretation, and it is believed that there is no constitutional objection to a special election for delegates, if the legislature should see fit to provide such an election. There will be no general state-wide election until November, 1920. Besides fixing the call for the election, the general assembly is required by the constitution to designate the time and meeting place for the convention, fix the pay of delegates and provide for the expenses of the convention. The convention must meet within three months of its election, and the alterations or amendments which it proposes must be submitted to the voters of the state for ratification or rejection within two or six months of adjournment. The passage of the necessary legislation by the general assembly, the election of delegates, the deliberations of the convention and the ratification of amendments will consume, it is estimated, at least two years of time."

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**The Massachusetts Constitutional Amendments.**<sup>1</sup>—All the amendments submitted by the constitutional convention at the election on November 5, have been carried.

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**The Ten Constitutional Amendments in North Dakota** were voted upon by the voters November 5. Three of these were referred to the voters by the last legislature—giving the legislature power to levy an acreage tax to provide for state hail insurance; giving corporations the right to limit the voting power of stockholders; providing that at least four of the five judges of the supreme court must concur in any decision declaring a law of the state unconstitutional. These each received a majority vote of about 20,000, and at the recent meeting of the

state canvassing board were declared adopted, thereby immediately becoming a part of the constitution of the state.

The remaining seven amendments were initiated by the Nonpartisan League. No. 1 provides for a modification and extension of the initiative and referendum as applied to legislation; No. 2, for the immediate taking effect of emergency measures; No. 3, that a constitutional amendment must receive a majority of the votes cast thereon by the voters to become a part of the constitution; No. 4, that the legislature may exempt personal property, including buildings and improvements upon land, from taxation; No. 5, that the legislature may levy an acreage tax for hail indemnity. No. 6, that the state may issue or guarantee the payment of bonds, such bonds in excess of \$2,000,000 to be secured by first mortgages upon real estate or upon the property of state-owned utilities. The amount of bonds that may be issued upon the latter security is limited to \$10,000,000; No. 7, that the state, or any county or city, may make internal improvements, and may engage in any industry, enterprise or business not prohibited by the Constitution.

These amendments received majorities ranging from 12,000 to 22,000 votes, have been declared adopted by the state canvassing board, and now go before the legislature at the coming session for adoption by that body. As that body is overwhelmingly nonpartisan, there is little doubt but that they will become a part of the constitution of the state.

According to the constitution of the state an amendment to become a part of the constitution must receive "a majority of all of the legal votes cast at such general election." A considerable discussion has arisen over the interpretation of this phrase. Women are permitted to vote for state superintendent in this state. Counting their votes as "legal votes" none of the amendments received a majority of all of the votes cast. The candidates for governor received the largest number of votes cast for any of the candidates. One amendment, that relating to constitutional amendments, lacked about

<sup>1</sup>See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 643.

250 votes of receiving a majority of the number cast for governor. The vote for governor was somewhat less than the total vote. The three most cherished measures of the league, the ones regarding constitutional amendment, the debt limit, and public ownership—the ones upon which the league program was dependent—lacked from two to four hundred votes of receiving this majority. In the confusion the attorney general was appealed to. In a lengthy decision, backed by two decisions of the state supreme court, he maintained that the votes to be counted in deciding whether or not any of these amendments had passed were those votes only which had been cast for or against the particular amendment. Accepting this decision, the canvassing board by a three to two vote declared all ten amendments adopted.

E. T. TOWNE.<sup>1</sup>

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**A New Constitution for Missouri?**—The pressure of reconstruction problems and the example of its neighboring states of Illinois and Arkansas has resulted in a strong movement for a new state constitution in Missouri. On December 9, at the call of Mayor Cowgill of Kansas City, a large gathering of the Missouri mayors was held there to consider the necessary moves to obtain a new fundamental document. As a result, "a new constitution league" was established, with which the great majority of the municipalities of Missouri have become affiliated. The spirit evidenced at the meeting was one of keen appreciation of the fundamental needs of the state and of the proper method to meet those needs. The public utility question came up for consideration, amendment of the public service commission law being also a part of the program. The meeting went on record in favor of such amendments to the law as would take the control of local utilities out of the hands of this commission.

In regard to the new constitution: The meeting's resolutions declared that the

<sup>1</sup>Professor of Political Science, University of North Dakota.

reconstruction problems facing the state; the impossibility of the state to function properly under the constitution devised to meet the needs of 1875; the constitutional hampering of cities in their development, government, revenue, and control of utilities; the inadequate resources of the public education system, particularly of the rural school; and the difficulty of obtaining relief in any of these items without a constitutional convention, made the calling of such convention an absolute necessity. Because of the strong political forces which have been enlisted in support of the new constitution, its creation in the near future can be looked for. Governor Gardner has announced that he will support the proposal, and will recommend it to the legislature in his message.

Louis F. Budenz.

\*

**Ohio's Constitutional Amendments Adopted.**—The two amendments submitted on November 5, one prohibiting the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors as a beverage and the other known as the classification amendment providing that "the subjects of taxation for all state and local purposes shall be classified and the rate of taxation shall be uniform on all subjects of the same class and shall be just to the subject taxed," were adopted by majorities of about 40,000 votes.

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**A Single Chambered Legislature for Oklahoma.**—The creation of a unicameral legislature is being urged by the Oklahoma municipal league. At its recent meeting in Oklahoma City a resolution memorializing the state legislature to take steps to create a single bodied legislature as making for greater state efficiency was passed unanimously.

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**Comparative Civic Interest and Undiscriminating Votes.**—Under this caption the municipal league of Los Angeles has published the following analysis of the vote on the charter amendments submitted at the election on November 5, which constitutes an interesting study in the actual operation of the initiative and referendum:

Total Registration ..... 189,924  
 Total Vote (Approximately) 100,000 ..... 55 per cent  
 This small percentage is accounted for in part by an epidemic of influenza and the absence of many in war service.

*Undiscriminating Opposition:*

The "undiscriminating opposition," in part influenced by the widespread advertisement of the municipal *taxpayers' league* ("Vote *no* on all amendments"), can be quite accurately gauged by the approximately 25,000 negative vote on the *colorless amendments—Nos. 11 and 12* on this list.

(No. 11—Making it clear that the city's right to construct tunnels is broad enough to include the right to construct tunnels and subways for traffic as well as sewers.)

(No. 12—Empowering the city to use general state laws applicable to cities.)

Measures on the November Ballot 1918	Total Vote	Against			For	Result if only Discriminating Votes had Voted for and against
		Total	Undiscriminating Opposition	Discriminating Opposition		
1 Jitney (Lost)	77,136	51,554	(Approximately) 25,000	26,554	25,582	Lost (same)
2 Sunday Closing (Lost)	76,976	60,586		25,586	26,390	Won (Reversed)
3 Rominger Ordinance (Lost)	75,108	48,624	"	23,624	26,484	Won "
4 Harbor Sewers (Lost) (2-3 vote)	68,136	30,653	"	5,653	37,485	Won "
5 Natural Gas (Won)	64,157	31,633	"	6,333	32,524	Won (Same)
6 Pension All City Employees. (Lost)	63,185	38,641	"	13,641	24,544	Won (Reversed)
7 Purchase Power District System (Lost)	61,987	32,005	"	7,005	29,982	Won "
8 District Representation (Lost)	61,034	38,252	"	11,252	24,782	Won "
9 Library Tax (Won)	60,959	29,194	"	4,194	31,765	Won (Same)
10 Additional 10 cent Tax (Lost)	20,219	46,863	"	21,663	13,556	Lost "
11 Build Tunnels (Won)	55,252	23,958	"		31,294	Won "
12 Use State Laws (Won)	55,016	24,870	"		30,146	Won "
13 Civil Service (Lost)	53,494	35,843	"	10,843	17,651	Won (Reversed)
14 Increased Pensions (Lost)	53,290	34,019	"	9,019	29,271	Won "

**Akron's New Progressive Charter!**—The new charter for Akron was adopted by a vote of 11,584 votes for and 6,223 against, with about 70 per cent of the registered voters voting on the proposition. The charter was carried with practically no publicity campaign. During the week immediately preceding the election, statements from a few of the leading citizens endorsing the charter were published, including the present mayor and the ex-mayor. A number of citizen organizations including the central labor union endorsed the charter and these endorsements were published.

Owing to the ban on public gatherings on account of the influenza epidemic, no public meetings were held. The success of this charter election is due partly to the fact that the people have been kept in-

formed through the newspapers of the progress made while the charter was being written, but more particularly to the fact that the citizens have confidence in the character and ability of the fifteen charter commissioners. These men went at their problem in a straightforward open-minded fashion and spent six months in studying the problem of city government before they undertook to formulate the charter. During this time, citizens were frequently urged to attend the sessions and take part in the deliberations. The result of this method of approach was that no dissension or disagreement developed among the members of the charter commission and the people realized that the commissioners were taking their work very seriously, which tended to create an established confidence in their work.

The three newspapers all supported the charter, each one coming out editorially in favor of it.

D. C. SOWERS.

<sup>1</sup>"Akron's Two Ways of Drafting a Charter," by George P. Atwater. Vol. vii (September issue), p. 500.

**Baltimore Has Adopted a New Home Rule Charter** which is merely the old charter with a very fair application of the merit system to the city appointments, postponed, however, in its operation until January 1, 1920, a concession to the politicians, which did not at all disarm their hostility to the measure. It is encouraging to find that the merit system was endorsed in Baltimore by a handsome popular majority. The reason of the readoption of the old charter was to bring it within the provisions of a constitutional amendment recently adopted, giving to cities and counties in the state large powers of local government. By its readoption the charter has become an act of local rather than of state legislation and is subject to the restrictions of constitutional amendments amendable by the people of the city at any time they may say.

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**Street Railway Executives and Public Ownership.**—As an interesting supplement to the article appearing in the last issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW was the paper read by the president of the United railways company of St. Louis, Mr. Richard McCullough, to the American electric railway association, which met in New York on November 1, 1918. Mr. McCullough there presented all the arguments in favor of municipal ownership with the exception of the strongest: that private ownership had debauched municipal politics. He frankly confessed that public ownership would secure better service to the public, could be more readily financed, and would lead to generally improved transportation conditions. A motion pledging the street railway executives to public ownership of transit facilities received a surprisingly warm welcome from the meeting, and was referred to the executive board for final action. This attitude of the street railway executives on public ownership opens the way to a constructive solution of the problem. Formerly, their obstinately antagonistic attitude was the chief obstacle in municipal ownership progress. They can do a great service by exerting all of their

influence toward amendment of the bonded indebtedness provisions of state constitutions.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ

The resolutions unanimously adopted at this meeting were equally interesting and suggestive and for that reason are reproduced herewith. In this connection our readers will be interested in the views set forth by Dr. Delos F. Wilcox in his article published in the earlier part of this number (footnote, p. 33).

The whole structure of the franchise relationship between electric railways and the various communities has broken down under the strain of the war. The rapid increase in the cost of all material, the extraordinary demands of labor made necessary by the rise in the cost of living, the alarming decrease in the purchasing power of the nickel, have brought the electric railways of this country face to face with bankruptcy.

Practically every other industry except public utilities, whose rates are regulated by law, has been able readily to adjust its methods of doing business to meet the war demands, and the radical increases in the cost of operations and of manufacture have been promptly reflected in the selling price, and so passed on to the consumer. In all other departments of our commercial and industrial life where the economic laws of supply and demand have been unhampered and allowed free play, the inevitable increase in the cost of production has been taken care of in the perfectly normal way of increased cost to the consumer.

It is only in those industries where the public has attempted to fix a just and fair price for service rendered and where the artificial standard has been substituted for the natural one, that we find this complete breakdown under war conditions.

Industry generally was never so prosperous, notwithstanding the increase in the cost of labor and material. The public utilities, and especially the electric railways, present practically the only exception to this rule of prosperity. They, on the contrary, are steadily being destroyed by the war.

A tabulation of 388 electric railways, representing over 63 per cent of the electric mileage of the United States, shows a falling off in income of 82 per cent for the first six months of 1918 as compared with the corresponding period of last year. Many of the companies are facing an actual operating deficit in spite of the increase in gross receipts. The scale of wages established by the National War Labor Board in cases already decided,

when applied to the industry generally, will add over \$100,000,000 to its already greatly increased operating expenses.

As a consequence of the rapidly mounting costs of operation and the steadily declining net income, the financial standing of the electric railways has been seriously affected, and it is no longer possible to attract new capital for the efficient operation of the properties in the interest of the public.

These facts lead inevitably to the conclusion that the present relationship between the companies and the public, as evidenced by existing franchises with fixed rates of fare, is economically unsound; that the present system of regulating fares by franchises or commissions is admittedly not sufficiently responsive to violent and radical changes in operating conditions. Under the present system, before the company can justify an increase of its fare it must first show that for a longer or shorter period it has suffered loss under the existing fare, which loss cannot be compensated for by the new rate. In any other business, the prudent manager is able to provide against increases in cost by promptly advancing his selling price.

The electric railway must stagger along under the five-cent fare for months until its credit is destroyed, its service impaired, its equipment deteriorated, and it has become obvious to the community that it is on the brink of destruction before its case has been sufficiently made out to justify an increase in its rate.

The declaration of war found the electric railways thoroughly unprepared for the problems thrust upon them. Without in any way lessening our efforts to win the war by supplying this essential service to the public, it would seem to be the part of wisdom for us to take up for serious consideration the problems of peace.

Of all the problems of readjustment which this nation will have to meet and solve after the war, none will be more serious or more difficult than that of the electric railway industry. In the light of our experience as emphasized by war conditions, it is manifest that to insure the efficient operation of the electric railways of the country after the war, there must be a recasting of the entire basis of the relationship existing between the electric railways and the communities they serve.

In many cases, electric railway franchises, which had come to be considered as valuable assets, in the light of recent experience have been proved to be liabilities. Already there is a growing recognition of this fact in different parts of the country, as evidenced by the "operation

at cost" plans recently adopted in Boston, Chicago, and Cincinnati.

In the past, the sole interest of the community has been thought to be in the service rendered, but with a broader conception of the underlying problems involved there is a growing tendency to recognize a community of interest in the problems of profit and loss, as having a direct and immediate bearing upon the rate of fare.

Now, therefore, *be it resolved* by the American Electric Railway Association:

- 1st: That it is the deliberate judgment of this association, that, in the light of the experience of the industry during the war, the entire subject of the relationship between electric railway companies and the public should have, now and during the reconstruction period following the war, the most earnest consideration of the representatives of both the public and the companies.
- 2nd: That among other things, a radical revision of electric railway local franchises should be made, if the industry is to continue to render efficient service to the public.
- 3rd: That a committee be appointed by the president of the association, whose duty it shall be to make study of reconstruction problems, particularly those relating to local franchises, and report their recommendations at an early date.

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#### Chicago Rejects Trustee Traction Plan.

—At the election of November 5 last the voters of Chicago defeated the proposed traction ordinance that was submitted to a referendum vote. The majority against the ordinance was 34,723.

The ordinance embodied the trustee plan of management, somewhat similar to the plan applied to the Boston situation some months ago by the Massachusetts legislature. In Boston, where the plan was put into effect without a referendum vote, the trustees to manage the property are five in number, appointed by the governor of the state for ten year terms, subject to removal for cause. In Chicago, the plan as embodied in an ordinance formulated by the city council called for the unification of surface and elevated lines, and the management of the unified system by a board of nine trustees, agreed upon in advance. Three

of the nine men designated were important officials of the companies now in control. The first board was to serve until 1927 without reservation of the power of removal. After 1927 the trustees were to be named in such manner as the city council might designate.

Enabling legislation from the general assembly of the state would have been necessary to make the plan effective. An extensive construction program was outlined in the ordinance which it was claimed would have increased the local transportation facilities of Chicago by 150 per cent. There were to be subways, as well as elevated and surface line additions to the unified system.

The campaign over the ordinance was bitter and excited much popular interest, even though the war at the time tended to distract public attention from matters of local concern. The chief arguments against the ordinance were that the valuations of existing properties were too high; that the guaranteed rate of return was excessive and would lead to large fare increases; and that the tenure of the first board of trustees was too long. There was also dissatisfaction with the personnel of some of its proposed trustees, especially those connected with the present traction companies.

★

**Taxing Municipal Bonds.**—The pending federal revenue bill as passed by the house of representatives included for taxation interest from municipal bonds and other obligations of states and sub-divisions of a state, when issued after the passage of the act. This provision was stricken from the bill by the Senate Finance Committee on October 17. Inasmuch as such obligations have previously been considered exempt from federal taxation (*Pollack v. The Farmers' Loan & Trust Co.*, 158 U. S. 601; 1895) and as such taxation may again be seriously considered the constitutional question raised deserves consideration.

The argument for the constitutionality of such a tax is now based on the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution, which provides that "Congress shall have power

to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states and without regard to any census or enumeration." It will be recalled that Mr. Hughes, then governor of New York, opposed the amendment because he believed it would give the federal government the right to tax municipal and state bonds. Senator Root, replying to Mr. Hughes, said the words "from whatever source derived" did not apply to any of the instrumentalities of the state government. In the income-tax law it was provided that in computing net income the interest on state and municipal bonds should be excluded. In *Stanton v. Mining Co.*, 240 U. S. 12; 1916, the court said in a unanimous opinion: "The provisions of the sixteenth amendment conferred no new power of taxation." In *Peck v. Lowe*, decided May 20, 1918, the court said the sixteenth amendment "does not extend the taxing power to new or excepted subjects, but merely removes all occasion, which otherwise might exist, for an apportionment among the states of taxes laid on income, whether it be derived from one source or another." Those who argued the unconstitutionality of the house provision relied chiefly on these two cases. The house committee was in doubt as the constitutionality, but decided to resolve the doubt in favor of the government.

It is estimated that at present there are between four and a half and five billions of state, county, and municipal bonds. The object of the proposed tax was to force big investment capital into government bonds, subjected to heavy surtaxes. The argument was made that municipalities going into all sorts of business enterprises should be required to demonstrate their ability to conduct them upon the same basis of costs as that upon which private owners must conduct enterprises of the same kind; obviously an attempt to make the extension of municipal ownership and enterprise more costly and difficult. A proposal to include for taxation previous issues of bonds was defeated 61 to 132 in committee of the whole. Taxation would reduce the yield and hence the

value of the bonds. To give the same yield interest rates would be higher, thus increasing the state and municipal tax rates. This would endanger many projects where there are constitutional or statutory tax limitations, besides burdening the tax-papers.

NOEL SARGENT.

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**Zoning.**—The cities now having zoning schemes are New York, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Fresno, Berkeley, Minneapolis and Alameda. Of the above ordinances those of Los Angeles and Minneapolis refer only to the use to which buildings may be put. The Minneapolis ordinance is not a city-wide ordinance, affecting only parts of the city. The New York, St. Louis, Berkeley, Fresno and Alameda ordinances regulate the height, use and area of buildings. In addition to the above cities, Boston and Washington, of course, have a comprehensive system of districts limiting the height of buildings. These two cities, however, do not regulate the use or area of buildings by districts. Newark, Jersey City, Cleveland and Baltimore are now actively contemplating the adoption of zoning schemes.

**Salary and Service Standardization.**—During 1918 the following studies in this subject were published:

Civil Service Plan for the County of Milwaukee Including Classification and Standardization of Personal Service, Civil Service Rules and Regulations and Constructive Recommendations for Positive Employment Administration. Prepared on the Authorization of Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors by the Milwaukee County Civil Service Commission, and published in November.

The civil service act and rules for the Milwaukee county government went into effect and operation on January 1. This report also contains standard specifications for personal service including services, grades, titles, duties, qualifications, lines of promotion and compensation of positions in the county classified civil service.

Classification and Standardization and Description of Duties of Positions in the Classified Service of the City of St. Louis.

Standard Specifications for Personal Service and Classification of Competitive Positions in the Service of the City of Cleveland.

W. C. BEYER.

## II. POLITICS

**The resignation of Commissioner E. E. Lafaye of New Orleans** is a disaster it seems to those of us who have been working for better government here. It is due to a combination of circumstances. The outstanding one is the offer of a better job by a large local bank just at the time when the governor's refusal to approve the bill allowing the commission to raise the salary of its members made it impossible for the city to bid for his services against any private employer.

It has been known all along that Mr. Lafaye was serving the city at a heavy pecuniary sacrifice, his salary as commissioner of public property being considerably less than the amount he was making in business before he entered public office. He alone of the four commissioners found it necessary to devote his entire time to the work of his depart-

ment; and to sever all his business connections in order to be free from any possible suspicion of graft. His family is of the large patriarchal type common among Louisiana Creoles, and he has the Creole pride in maintaining all family obligations to the uttermost. As a result, his household is an expensive one, and he has kept up his *menage* during the last six years by mortgaging his private property. He has received more than one tempting offer to return to the business world, but has declined them hitherto because he had set himself certain tasks to do before he went out of office.

This summer, however, the war had made the immediate accomplishment of those tasks impossible. And meantime his own problems had increased.

Thus after six years of service he finds himself obliged to face the alternative of

getting into active business life again or of becoming entirely dependent upon his political position. And he has believed all along that his strength and political prestige lay largely in the fact that he could quit at any time. He has feared to remain in office until he became a "professional job-holder."

The salary-raising bill which failed to pass was intended by its proposers to enable the pay of the commissioner of public property, *and his alone*, to be raised. There was a general recognition of the fact that his post was more exacting than any of the others—that Commissioner Lafaye was in effect a "city manager" and that he was worth to the city several times as much as he was getting, and several times as much as any other commissioner. Because he, and he alone, had taken the trouble to master the details of the tangled municipal finances, and to straighten them out by long hours of work, often at night; to take up the problems of the public utilities, railway, light, and gas; to undertake the establishment of the Delgado trade school, as well as the reform of the paving laws; the sanitary and economic disposal of the city's garbage; and the remodeling of the city markets, he has dominated the affairs of the council, and given the administration of Mayor Martin Behrman a reputation for progressiveness which was due entirely to his own energy and that which he inspired in loyal subordinates like the superintendent of the municipal repair plant, T. L. Willis, who has just received a deserved promotion to the post of city engineer.

By tireless efforts, infinite patience and skilful diplomacy, Mr. Lafaye has taken the fundamental problems of the city administration one by one, and begun their solution. Realizing that finance was the base of each, he analyzed the city's finances, and found that the interest-payments sapping the foundations were largely due to the extravagant sums paid for paving each year,—80 per cent of the public improvements going into paving of inferior quality, of which

the city was paying 90 per cent instead of 25 or 33 as in other cities.

This he stopped first, by revision of the paving laws and painstaking scrutiny of all specifications, getting better paving for less money; and placing the municipal repair plant on an efficient basis.

Next he took up the matter of refinancing the city, so as to put it on a cash basis. The solution of this problem was less happy, as it substituted 50-year bonds for the short-term certificates, and burdened the city with a load of interest which might have been avoided had the next step—raising the assessments to full value—been taken first. But it was done at the dictation of the large banks which held the whip-hand over the city because of its heavy indebtedness to them.

When, this year, the full value assessment was made in accordance with the requirements of the state board of affairs, it was not done scientifically, but even the crude methods used produced a substantial increase in revenue. In addition, Commissioner Lafaye had a revision of the general licenses made, which added to the revenue almost as much as the amount which the city will lose by the deduction of the liquor licenses due to war-time prohibition.

However, these gains are offset by the unlooked-for increase in wages and materials caused by the war, which have made it just as hard to make the budget balance this year as ever before. It has been a great disappointment to this ambitious young commissioner to find his whole six years of work apparently nullified.

"After all my efforts to save, and to create new revenues in order to have funds with which to carry out highly necessary projects for civic betterment," says he, "I found, this summer, that the prospects for the coming year were not worth further sacrifice of my time and energy. Owing to the war, all plans for the garbage reduction plant, for the Delgado trade school, for paving and street beautification and market improvement, were indefinitely postponed. Instead of having a surplus of a million or more dollars for public improve-

ments, which we had hoped for as a result of all our work, we had great difficulty in making a budget to cover actual necessities. I faced the prospect of beginning all over again where we were six years ago—and I felt that my duty to my family would not permit me to give six years more to the public service, and find myself at the end of that time, a professional office-holder.

"It has been a disappointment to see six years of work go for nothing," admits the commissioner. "Yet, it has been an experience worth while. No one else can ever know how much pleasure I have found in working out these big problems,—and doing it without sacrificing the claims of humanity. And there are still some very pretty problems to solve—such as the street railway and light and gas question, on which I expect the report of F. W. Ballard of Cleveland to throw much light. It is the prettiest opportunity ever a city had to take over its own utilities and make them a paying asset by intelligent management. But," he adds, "some one else will have that pleasure now."

He promises, however, to maintain his interest and zeal in public affairs. Besides becoming vice-president of one of the largest banks in the city, he has just been chosen vice-president of the New Orleans association of commerce. And the opinion seems to be practically unanimous that he will some day return to public office under more fortunate auspices.

The recent defeat, by about, 3,600 votes, absolutely ring-controlled, of the state amendment for woman suffrage passed by the last legislature, has been laid entirely at the door of Mayor Martin Behrman who stubbornly and defiantly set his face against the opinion of the state at large, the platform of the Democratic party, the expressed wishes of the president and the governor, and the advice of the national Democratic committeeman for Louisiana. It is generally conceded that for once this shrewd ward boss underestimated the force of a political current, and that his political days are numbered. Resentment of his autocratic domination

is not confined to woman suffragists nor to his political opponents. Even his friends admit that this final bit of arrogance has broken his neck.

Those who hope for better municipal government here see the wisdom in Commissioner Lafaye's retirement at this time and look to his return within two years. In any event, his work has set a standard which will make it hard for an incompetent or indolent man to follow him. He has enacted legislation which can be used to safeguard the city from the greed of paving contractors; has improved the market ordinances and built at least one modern sanitary market; has fought one successful battle with the lighting monopoly, and placed the city in the position of the dominant party in the 10-year contract for street lighting; besides completing a large amount of street paving and making the municipal repair plant an efficient tool instead of a scandal. These things he has done almost single-handed.

They are only a fraction of the things he has hoped to do,—and this is why public sentiment is unanimous that he must be returned to the city hall to finish his task and "pull New Orleans out of the mud."

ETHEL HUTSON.<sup>1</sup>

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**Detroit Progressives Win.**<sup>2</sup>—Detroit progressives won a substantial victory at the election, placing the entire city administration for the next three years in the hands of a mayor and nine councilmen who were backed by the forces responsible for the revised charter. The result vindicates the course of the Detroit citizens league for the past two years, as sponsor for the new charter. It sustains the view of those who preferred a conservative revision, with a small council and a mayor of large powers, rather than another radical charter, such as was defeated four years ago, or the city manager plan at this

<sup>1</sup> Miss Hutson, who was formerly on the editorial staff of the *New Orleans Item*, is now on the staff of New Orleans association of commerce.

<sup>2</sup> See W. P. Lovett's article "Enlistment of Workingmen in the Cause of Better Government, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 599.

time. The citizens defeated the attempt to inject religion into politics, they permanently shelved two candidates who had been charged with grafting, and secured a non-partisan administration in which representation by groups fairly takes the place of the old ward system.

James Couzens, former police commissioner, will become mayor January 1, 1919, chosen by a majority of about 9,000 over William F. Connolly, an active member of the Democratic national committee and chief promoter of Henry Ford for United States senator. The mayor has large administrative and appointive powers, not far removed from those of an elective manager. The nine councilmen serve for \$5,000 per annum, normally on a two year term, but in the first instance three years, as does the mayor. Six of the new councilmen are of the distinctly progressive type, another was one of the charter framers, and the two remaining, while belonging to the ward type in the present council, and lack the modern civic vision, yet will co-operate in normal advance programs.

Of the nine elected five are in the old council, two represent the "modern business man" element, and another stands for labor, both union and non-union. The Polish people, having about 100,000 in the city, are represented. Thus the idea of democracy is not sacrificed to efficiency.

Alderman John C. Lodge, for some years the leader of the reform minority in the present 42-member council, which dies January 1, 1919, will be president of the new board by virtue of having received the highest number of votes. Walsh and Glinnan, the two undesirables exerted themselves to the utmost in the campaign, but in the list of 18 nominees they ran fourteenth and eighteenth. This in itself is a great achievement for the better Detroit. Castator, a stalwart young man unknown politically, was elected as labor representative, though bitterly opposed by a ring of unionists who assume to control the Detroit federation of labor.

Abolition of ward lines and substitution of the non-partisan at-large system of elections, threw the city open to a grand

scramble for place. The 66 candidates in the primary were reduced to 18. The campaign was enlivened by a five-ring circus of political combinations, in which religious lines were much in evidence. The old gang elements in the present council promoted the combinations, seeking to control the new system of government, but they failed utterly. To the result the daily press contributed heavily on the right side, as did also the fair weather, and the patriotic tags distributed to all voters by the citizens league, saying: "I am an American. I voted Today. Did You?"

The Couzens-Connolly race brought out vividly the differences between business and political candidacy. Though he has recently favored non-partisanship in city affairs, and supported the new charter program, Mr. Connolly was feared by many on account of his habitual political methods and activities; they did not wish to "saddle a local Tammany" on the city. Couzens grew up with the Ford motor company along with its organizer. He retired, very wealthy, two years ago to become police commissioner, and as such showed initiative and personal independence so devoid of tact as to create enemies where he should have had friends. His chief asset now is in his secretary and political manager, "Eddie" Fitzgerald, former newspaper man, filling successfully the rôle of Warwick. Some hail Couzens as "a second Pingree"—but that remains to be seen.

As the leader of the new charter program, the Detroit citizens league issued a voters' guide—a small card of which 275,000 were circulated. Six of its seven class A men were first nominated and then elected. The three others in the new council were approved by the league in class B. While neutral as to the mayoralty, the leadership and most of the membership of the league inclined to favor Couzens.

Best of all, the religious issue has been set well back, if not buried. Despite appeals by the citizens league for strict Americanism and impartiality, the issue was raised two years ago by anti-Catholics, against whom Roman Catholics retaliated

this year by mixing actively in the primary and election campaigns. They worked for Connolly and for certain councilmanic candidates. The result is a victory for non-partisanship and the American idea, without regard to religious creeds.

A charter amendment allowing city firemen 24 hours off duty in every 48 hours was adopted, though there was some opposition to it on the ground of its inopportuneness in time of war.

WILLIAM P. LOVETT.

### III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

EDITED BY ROBERT E. TRACY

**Franchise.**—In the case of *Fowler v. Chicago Railways Co.*,<sup>1</sup> the Illinois supreme court held that where a street railway, in consideration of a license to construct its road on a street has agreed with the city, in its franchise ordinance, to keep the street in repair, persons sustaining an injury through its failure may maintain suit directly against the company to avoid circuity of action.

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**Appointments.**—In *People v. Davis*,<sup>2</sup> the Illinois supreme court decided that a city council has power after confirming the mayor's appointments to the board of education, to reconsider its action and disapprove such appointments; such confirmation of appointment not being an election to office.

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**Home Rule.**—In *State v. Otis*,<sup>3</sup> the Ohio supreme court held under the provisions of §§. 1 and 2 of the Cleveland charter, that authority is reserved to the city to exercise any power now or that may hereafter be conferred upon the municipalities of the state by the laws of Ohio. Initiated ordinance No. 5222 providing for the appointment of a rapid transit commission is not in conflict with the provisions of its charter, but is a valid and subsisting ordinance under and by the terms of which the mayor is lawfully empowered to appoint a board of rapid transit commissioners for that city.

Judge Wanamaker strongly dissented. "We have the following objections to the Bauer law. (1) The attempt by the state legislature to create a municipal officer or municipal board, which is a purely municipi-

pal matter. (2) Conferring or delegating municipal powers to such municipal officer or municipal board, which is likewise purely a municipal matter. (3) In such delegation depriving officers already vested with those powers under the city constitution, the charter. (4) Numerous other provisions prescribing how the power shall be exercised, in clear conflict with the provisions of the organic law of the city, the charter." In closing he said, "I see in this case another invasion of the junker variety that is wholly inconsistent in the democracy for the cities of Ohio, as it was planned and provided through the 'home rule' amendment in 1912."

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**City Manager Law.**—The South Dakota supreme court in the case of *Toohey v. Burnside*<sup>1</sup> held that chapter 303 of the laws of 1917, the city-manager law, violates article 3, section 21 of the state constitution in so far as it provides for the superseding of existing city commissioners by a new body, a subject not embraced in the expression "increasing the number of commissioners" in the title of the act.

In the case of *City of Roanoke v. Elliot*,<sup>2</sup> the Virginia supreme court of appeals dismissed writs of error brought against an order of the circuit judge declaring the adoption after an election of the city-manager plan. The election was held under the emergency clause of an act of 1918 which amended the original 1914 act. The amendment was attacked because the emergency clause did not state the grounds of the emergency. The court held that the legislature is the sole judge of an emergency justifying immediate effect.

<sup>1</sup> 120 N. E. 635.

<sup>2</sup> 120 N. E. 326.

<sup>3</sup> 120 N. E. 312.

<sup>1</sup> 168 N. W. 742.

<sup>2</sup> 96 S. E. 819.

**Speed Laws.**—In *State v. Barton*,<sup>1</sup> the Rhode Island supreme court held that state statutes regulating the use of the highways of the state are subordinate to the exigencies of military operations by the federal government in time of war. In this case a member of the U. S. Naval Reserve Force, who was driving a motor vehicle along the street in Newport, in the performance of an urgent duty to deliver a dispatch under instructions from his superior officer, was arrested for violating the state speed laws. The defendant took the ground that, as he had violated the speed law in carrying out the orders of his superior, the prosecution could not be maintained.

ROBERT E. TRACY.

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**The Unconstitutionality of Negro Segregation.**—Until comparatively recently, the century old demand that the negro be made to "keep his place" has had reference to the political, social or industrial rights or privileges which he might seek to share. In slavery days, through the reconstruction era, and for a couple of decades afterwards, it does not appear that white men concerned themselves much about the places in which negroes might live, but since the closing years of the last century, there has developed in many communities, a strong and sometimes intense desire to keep the negro from becoming a householder in white neighborhoods. Apparently it is not the mere physical proximity which is most objected to. No one ever says that a negro servant may not live in his employer's home. There is no agitation to drive him out of the alley houses within a few yards of the back windows of white residences. Even where he lives on the same street and in the same block, he can be tolerated, if his home is plainly less desirable than that of his white neighbor. The resentment is greatest when he moves into a row of houses, all of which are very much alike, and all the others of which have white occupants.

But if the dislike for the implication of equality is at the root of the difficulty, it is not true that the coming in of the negro hurts nothing but the racial pride of a

white neighborhood. Where that pride is strong, the fact that a negro has come to dwell in one of a number of houses not greatly dissimilar in pretension, lowers the value of all real estate in the vicinity. The losers are not disposed to be philosophical. Their indignation and sense of loss sometimes lead to disorder and riot.

Seven or eight years ago, cities and towns began to pass segregation ordinances. So far as the reported cases show, the earliest of these to be enacted was that of Richmond, on April 19, 1911, 50 years to the day after the first bloodshed of the civil war. A month later Baltimore followed suit, and then many other places did likewise. Within a few years, courts of last resort of no less than five states passed upon the validity of such enactments. In Kentucky<sup>2</sup> and Virginia<sup>3</sup> they were sustained. In Maryland<sup>4</sup> while the court was of the opinion that it was lawful to segregate, it held that the ordinance before it was invalid, because it prohibited a negro, who had owned a house before its passage, from moving into it afterwards. In Georgia<sup>5</sup> and North Carolina<sup>6</sup> the ordinances were stricken down. While the decision in each of these cases was based upon somewhat narrow grounds, each court discussed the general question somewhat fully, and in a way to suggest that in its opinion the end sought could not lawfully be attained. The United States supreme court gave the issue unusually full and deliberate consideration. The case<sup>7</sup> was first argued in April, 1916, and reargued a year later. It was not decided until November, 1917. The Louisville ordinance was in controversy, but the principle was felt to be common to the whole body of segregation legislation. Briefs were filed by the city law officers of Baltimore and Richmond, and on behalf of various organizations interested on one side or the other. Mr. Justice Day, speaking for a unanimous court, based the conclusion reached upon grounds which were

<sup>1</sup> *Buchanan v. Warley*, 165 Ky. 559.

<sup>2</sup> *Hopkins v. City of Richmond*, 117 Va. 692.

<sup>3</sup> *State v. Gurry*, 121 Md. 534.

<sup>4</sup> *Carey v. City of Atlanta*, 143 Ga. 192.

<sup>5</sup> *State v. Darnell*, 186 N. C. 300.

<sup>6</sup> *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U. S. 60.

equally fatal to all attempts to establish ghettos for the blacks. He said:

It is the purpose of such enactments, and, it is frankly avowed it will be their ultimate effect, to require by law, at least in residential districts, the compulsory separation of the races on account of color. Such action is said to be essential to the maintenance of the purity of the races, although it is to be noted in the ordinance under consideration that the employment of colored servants in white families is permitted, and nearby residences of colored persons not coming within the blocks, as defined in the ordinance, are not prohibited.

It is urged that this proposed segregation will promote the public peace by preventing race conflicts. Desirable as this is, and important as is the preservation of the public peace, this aim cannot be accomplished by laws or ordinances which deny rights created or protected by the federal constitution.

It is said that such acquisitions by colored persons depreciate property owned in the neighborhood by white persons. But property may be acquired by undesirable white neighbors or put to disagreeable though lawful uses with like results.

The Maryland court of appeals, one of those originally holding that segregation was lawful, now recognizes that the supreme court has decided otherwise.<sup>1</sup> Apparently the controversy as to the legal power is at an end.

Those who would shut negroes out of a larger part of a city, are in justice bound to see that there is some place in which they may dwell in health and comfort, but nobody ever thought of this. The same feeling which demands segregation, usually

stands in the way of the erection of any considerable number of new houses for negro tenants. The creation of a new "Dark Town" is always bitterly resented by the owners of neighboring property, improved or unimproved.

Segregation, in any community with an increasing negro population, means for them overcrowding and excessive rents. In Baltimore houses in which negroes could lawfully live, rented at much higher figures than similar dwellings in which they could not. Municipal legislators did not want to force the negroes to herd together or to pay unfair rents. In most cases, it never occurred to them that what they were doing would have such results, and if it had, they would seldom have known how to guard against the dangers involved. What they wanted was to keep the negroes from dwelling among the whites, except as servants. That end seemed to them both desirable and fair, and they were determined to take the shortest cut to attain it. As they saw it, they were entitled to protect themselves from what was costly, unsightly and disagreeable. If in so doing, the negro suffered, they were sorry, but it was his affair rather than theirs. Men of one race or class, when they have the opportunity, are prone to deal with those of others, in such thoughtless, and if you will, heartless fashion. To make it impossible that they shall, is not the least of the purposes for which constitutions exist.

JOHN C. ROSE.

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS.

Frederick Law Olmsted of Brookline, president of the National Institute of City Planning, has served two terms as a member of the commission of National Fine Arts. Apropos of that event President Wilson recently wrote the following letter:

My dear Mr. Olmsted: Now that you are ending your second term as a member of the commission of fine arts and are laying down the duties of vice-chairman of that body, I desire to express my personal sense of the services you have rendered

to the nation. As a member of the commission of 1901, you were instrumental in the reinstatement of the L'Enfant plan for Washington and its logical development throughout the entire District of Columbia. The report of that commission impressed the people of the United States with the possibilities of placing Washington among the finest capital cities of the world. Also it was among the first of those impulses to civic improvement that in recent years have stirred the rapidly growing American cities to undertake an orderly arrangement of their areas.

From 1902 to the creation of the commission of fine arts in 1910, you cheerfully

<sup>1</sup> *State v. Jackson*, 132 Md. 311.

responded to repeated calls of congressional committees and of executive officers for advice and assistance in the solution of questions of art affecting the District of Columbia. It was the services thus rendered unofficially by you and other public-spirited citizens that led the congress to establish a commission whereby it has been made possible . . . to obtain expert advice on questions of art and taste. The value of your services were recognized when you were asked to become one of the original members of that commission and thus to continue to give advice made the more valuable by your familiarity with the needs of the district and by your experience and high attainments in your profession.

For all of this service you have expected and have received no money compensation; at times the task has been attended by public misconception, so that your one satisfaction has been the consciousness of having given to your country the best that was in you to give.

You will continue to give to the government your help in the new and perplexing task of housing workers in the industrial plants which have been created to satisfy war needs,—a task you were one of the first to recognize as essential.

Thus you are carrying on the high traditions of your family as devoted public servants in times of both peace and war.

Cordially and sincerely yours,  
WOODROW WILSON.

\*

**Henry M. Waite**, who resigned to accept a commission in the United States army in France, was city manager in Dayton. He has been advanced to the rank of colonel and placed at the head of the engineering corps of the American 2nd Company in France. He has charge of the railway and harbor construction work and transportation.

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**City Managers' Association, Fifth Annual Convention.**—The city managers' association held its fifth annual convention at Roanoke, Virginia, November 6 to 8. Competing with war conditions, the influenza epidemic and other "attractions" the convention attendance was smaller than anticipated, but more enthusiasm and results were produced than at any previous meeting.

Two significant steps were taken. The by-laws were so altered as to provide for an associate membership open to all

friends of municipal progress, the dues to be five dollars a year. The other innovation was the establishment of the *City Manager Bulletin* to be published by the executive secretary and sent to all association members.

The officers for the ensuing year are: President, Clarence A. Bingham, Waltham, Massachusetts; vice-president, H. H. Sherer, Glencoe, Illinois; executive secretary, Harrison G. Otis, Auburn, Maine. Mr. Bingham was vice-president last year and served as president upon the resignation of Gaylord C. Cummin, formerly manager at Grand Rapids. Mr. Otis was re-elected.

City planning and reconstruction to meet after-war conditions; methods of establishing and maintaining commission-manager government; the model city charter of the National Municipal League and proportional representation, were the headline topics for discussion. The round-table debates on administrative problems and the reports from manager cities showing achievements under war conditions, were full of good things.

Some of the papers delivered have already been published in the national magazines. The fifth yearbook of the association will appear shortly. This will contain the full proceedings of the convention, achievement reports from all cities operating under the manager plan, tabulated data showing the growth of the movement, together with charts and illustrations. This publication has already a world-wide circulation and is edited by the secretary.

H. G. OTIS.

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**Civic Secretaries Meeting.**—The first annual meeting of the Civics Secretaries Association (the ninth annual meeting of the Civic Secretaries Committee of the National Municipal League) was a highly successful event. Addison L. Winship, until recently secretary of the Boston city club, presided. In addition to sundry five-minute talks on the civic accomplishments of last year, John Collier, of the People's Institute, New York City, gave a thoroughly stimulating and inspiring ad-

dress on "Americanization through Practical Civic Endeavor," and Andrew Wright Crawford, the field secretary of the American Civic Association, spoke on "Housing Problems—Present and Future." Professor A. R. Hatton, who was subsequently elected president of the association for the following year, spoke on "Municipal Legislation To-day." The meeting was an interesting and stimulating one.

C. R. W.

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William M. Leiserson, professor at the Akron university, has accepted the position of chief of the labor administration division, working conditions service, in the Department of Labor, taking up his duties early in November.

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Dr. Joseph H. Odell has been chosen director of the "Service Citizens of Delaware," an organization recently formed in that state to advance the civic development of the state and its institutions. The organization has the benefit of a large income and bids fair to become a striking factor in that community. Dr. Odell has had an interesting career as a Presbyterian pastor, as a newspaper editor, as a writer for magazines and as a war correspondent, in addition to having been an active factor in the Red Cross campaigns.

Dr. L. D. Upson of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research and Dr. William H. Allen of the Bureau of Public Service, New York, are helping in a budget survey for the Governor of Virginia.

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Lloyd B. Hayes, formerly one of the civic secretaries of the Boston chamber of commerce has been chosen civic secretary of the Boston city club, in succession to Addison L. Winship.<sup>1</sup>

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Claude H. Anderson, secretary of the bureau of municipal information of the New Jersey state league of municipalities, has resigned to accept a position as district vocational officer for the federal board for vocational education. His district will comprise the states of Washington, Oregon, Montana and Idaho. His duties will be the executive and administrative work of the organization for the rehabilitation and training of wounded men rendered unfit for their pre-war occupations. Edward T. Paxton of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research will serve as temporary secretary of the bureau of municipal information.

<sup>1</sup>See *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, vol. vii, p. 491.

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